

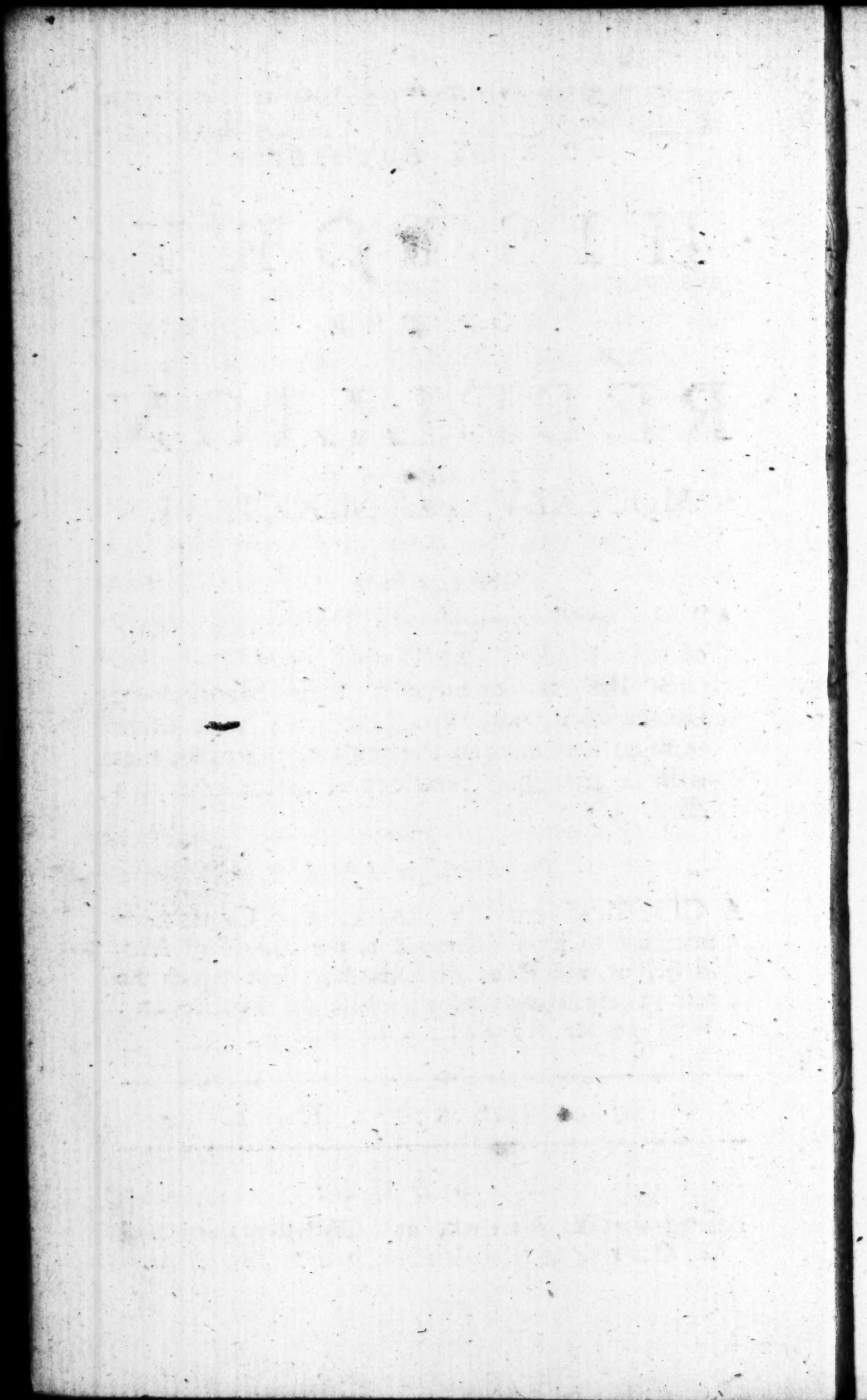
A
FULL and AUTHENTIC
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION
MDCCXLV. *and* MDCCXLVI.

Setting forth
All the most remarkable TRANSACTIONS
of both Parties; the Characters of the principal
Persons concerned; their Manifestoes,
Declarations, and Proclamations; with other
genuine and curious Particulars, not to be met
with in any other Account of that memorable
Æra.

To which is Added,
A COPY of what Dr. ARCHIBALD CAMERON
intended to have delivered to the Sheriff of *Middlesex*,
at the Place of Execution, but which he
left in the Hands of his Wife for Publication:
With proper REMARKS thereon.

By an IMPARTIAL HAND.

L O N D O N:
Printed for W. REEVE, at *Shakespeare's-Head*, and
W. OWEN, at *Homer's-Head*, both in *Fleet-Street*.





P R E F A C E.

THE following History, is what the Title speaks it, a full, true, and impartial Narrative of what happened in the late Rebellion, from its first breaking out, to its final Extinction; the serious Perusal of which, I dare venture to affirm, will be no disagreeable Amusement to such of his Majesty's British Subjects, as have the Welfare of their Country at Heart: For if it shews Common Sense, in private Life, to be capable of distinguishing our Friends from our Foes; of how much more Importance is that Knowledge, when applied to the Publick.

Again, as the peculiar Pleasure, Utility, and Improvement which the History of our own Times affords, has something in it, which is preferable to any other Branch of polite Literature, it may not be amiss, in this Place, to make some Enquiry into the original Source of that Satisfaction, which, in all Ages, has recommended Works of this Nature, to the good Opinion of the Readers of all Ranks and Conditions. For,

If we are delighted with perusing the Histories of former Ages, and distant Nations, how much more does it behove us to be well acquainted with our own, which furnishes us with
continual

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continual Reflections, improves our Judgment, and whets the Edge of that Enquiry, which is a Duty incumbent on the Legislative Power, to make on particular Occasions.

A single Instance will readily convey the Strength of this Observation, and at the same Time convince the Reader of the Truth of it. Many, too many young Gentleman, set out on their Travels, with hope of finding Instruction in foreign Nations, when they know no more of the Nature of the Government, or People, in their own Country, than if they had been born in the remotest Part of AMERICA. But will any Man say, that the Knowledge they thus acquire, tends to the Benefit of their native Country? No, certainly, the want of the latter, is an undoubted Disadvantage, and their Toil and Expence are additional Misfortunes.

I am directed by far nobler and more useful Motives, which determine me to Point out the Genius of my own Nation, to discover the Strength of her Friends and Enemies, in the remotest Parts of the United Kingdoms; and to let fereign Princes know, what little Dependance can be expected from a Disunion of the People of Great-Britain.

Finally, I declare, that what I have here laid down, is not only what I know to be true, but I have also neither spared Labour nor Expence to get the best Information I could, of what did not fall within the Reach of my own Knowledge.

The AUTHOR.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK I.

CONTENTS.

The Young Chevalier sets out from Rome to Paris; sails from Port Lazare in Bretagne; is attacked at Sea; arrives in Scotland, and advances to Edinburgh.

IF we look into the Histories of former Times, we shall find few *Æras* have been filled with more Wars and Conquests, or productive of more sudden Revolutions and grand Events, than the Year 1745; for during that Period, the Infant *Don Philip* obtained never-fading Laurels in *Italy*, by his Repulse of the *Sardinian* and *Austrian* Army. In *Flanders* was fought a ter-

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rible Battle near *Tournay*, between the Allies and the *French*, commanded by their King in Person. In *Bobemia*, the King of *Prussia*, though driving all before him, suddenly clapped up a Peace with the *Hungarian* Queen; whose Consort, *Francis* Grand Duke of *Tuscany*, was, on the 2d of *September*, chosen, by seven Votes of nine, Emperor of *Germany*, in Opposition to the Arms and Counsels of the House of *Bourbon*, but to the Honour and Interest of the Maritime Powers, the Surprize and Admiration of the other States of *Europe*, who saw the former depressed by the losing of *Cape-Breton*, that *Gibraltar* of *North-America*, that Center of her Fisheries in the New World, and that Nursery of Seamen for the Fleets of *France*; and the latter appearing with the brightest Lustre, notwithstanding the Loss of the Battle of *Tournay*, which, with many other Places, were taken that Campaign. But while these Occurrences happened upon the Continent, a more surprizing Phenomenon, as if preceded by a Comet, if I may be allowed the Expression, appeared this Year in *Britain*, where a Rebellion broke out, which was contrived at *Rome*, countenanced by *France*, and conducted by a Pretender to the Crown in Person; and as this Incident is among the most astonishing in the Annals of this or any other Country, either in Respect of its Rise, Progress,

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Progress, and Extinction, the Quickness of its Appearance, the hasty Steps by which it arrived at so enormous a Bulk, the Suddenness with which the whole was overturned, it may perhaps be somewhat entertaining to peruse a History of this enterprizing Project and daring Adventure: For the *British* Annals cannot point out a Period in which were more Marches and Counter-marches, more Battles and Skirmishes, more Sieges and false Alarms, than this; in which a Youth of *Rome* was using such Efforts for attaining a Crown, as kept the World itself in Suspence for awhile.

CHARLES EDWARD, eldest Son of the Pretender, by Princess *Clementina*, Daughter of *James*, Son of *John Sobieski* King of *Poland*, was from his Birth, *December 20, 1720*, honoured as Prince of *Wales*, not only by the *British* and *Irish* Noblemen and Gentlemen, who followed the Fate of King *James II.* and of the Old Pretender, *An. 1715*, and *1719*, but by the Pope and People of *Rome*, whose Veneration and Respect were raised from the Consideration of his being a Prince banished for his Religion and Attachment to the Holy See! while they eyed the Son as a Youth of an aspiring Genius, capable one Day to regain the Throne of his Ancestors, and advance their Interest at the same Time.

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His Tutors failed not to inspire him with Hopes, and to represent, in the strongest Manner, his undoubted Right to the Crown; so that freighted with the Project from his Infancy, he embraced every Proposal for the recovering of it: His Desire and Keeness increased with his Years, and his Mind intoxicated with Titles was hardly kept in a due Ballance by his Father and some Old Courtiers, who were averse to enter upon Action till the Scheme was ripe to be pursued: He corresponded with some faithful Friends in *Britain*, who, from Time to Time, sent him Lists of the Inhabitants *.

From the Year 1723, till the Year 1728, several Plans had been laid down; but the most likely, was that concerted between the distant Courts of *Madrid* and *Petersburgh* for restoring the Father, and perhaps the Blow had been struck had not the Kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, ever jealous of the Power

* One *Thompson*, a Ship-master in *Burnt-Island*, told me in *October* 1741, that in the Year 1737, he, being at *Rome*, went with some others to see the Pretender's Palace at *St. Albano*; and that, having got ready Access, they were desired to stay for some Time, when a tall slender young Man (whom he judged to be the young Chevalier) came to them preceded by a servant carrying some Folio Books before him, every one's Residence and Country was enquired after: On which the Books were opened, and Questions put to each concerning every Person of the least Note in the County where he lived.

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Power of *Russia*, taking Umbrage at the Equipment of their Fleet, applied to the Court of *Britain*, and informed King *George* of the Scheme. Sir *Charles Wager* was directly sent into the *Baltick* with a strong Squadron, and carried a Letter to the *Czarina* signed by his Majesty, informing, that her Designs for bringing in the Pretender had been detected, and that his Admiral had Orders to block up her Fleets in their Harbours. This Conduct, seconded by a Force sufficient to support it, had the desired Effect upon her, startled the Powers of *Europe*, and would for ever have extinguished the Hopes of the Court of *St. Albano*, had not *Simon Lord Lovat*, upon a Disgust for being turned out of his Captaincy of an Independant Highland Company, in Consequence of a private Quarrel betwixt him and General *Wade*, revived their Hopes, and contrived the most likely Means that hitherto had been proposed.

This Nobleman, naturally of a crafty Genius, which had been improved by Straits and Difficulties, to which he was reduced, when absconding from Justice on Account of a Rape committed on his Aunt-in-Law, the Lady Dowager of *Lovat*, had like the Bee gathered the several Flowers of *Chicane*: He was well acquainted with the insinuating Arts of the Jesuits, having been a Priest of

that Order in *France* ; and habituated to the mutual Appellation of Father and Child, he very dexterously used these when exciting the Highlanders to Arms. He had been in all the Plots of the Court of *St. Germains*, ever since the Abdication of King *James*, and though he sided with the Government in 1715, yet his Conduct proceeded rather from Self-interest, than from a Love to the Cause he espoused, since he could not be Lord had the Pretender's Scheme succeeded, as Mr. *Mc Kenzie* of *Fraferdale*, then deeply involved in the Rebellion, had married the Heiress of *Lovat*. It was in the Year 1735, two Years before the Time of his having exact Lists of the Inhabitants, that this crafty *Simon* wrote a Letter to the Old Pretender by a Desperado, *John Roy Stuart*, a Man, who was someway disoblged and had thrown up his Place of Quarter-Master of the Regiment of Greys. In this Epistle he introduced himself by representing the Exploits of the *Frasers*, their untainted Loyalty to the several Kings, and their Intermarriages with the Blood Royal ; he pointed out his own Interest, having not only 2000 *Frasers* at his Devotion, but an Influence over the Clans, who were all his Relations ; he informed him that 10,000 of the most warlike Part of his Subjects were entirely at his Beck ; that the Army was for the
most

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most Part composed of raw and undisciplined Men, conducted by effeminate Officers, many of whom were but Boys; he assured him that the Earl of *Marr's* Brother had artfully set the Church of *Scotland* by the Ears, and that he believed the high Party, whom he had countenanced, would be ready to declare for him, and that the same Gentleman had now got a Seat in the House of Commons, where a Division was expected by his Means.

"Give me, continued he, your Majesty's
"Countenance, and I shall, like my An-
"cestors, promote your Advancement, with
"my Sword, my Interest, and Tongue."

Roy Stuart, who informed the Gentleman of whom I had this Account, seconded the Letter with all his Rhetoric, and urged, that he would immediately enter upon Action for recovering his Throne: No, said the Old Chevalier, while his Son and *Roy* were pressing him, "The Time for my
"Deliverance is not yet come; nor can
"I enter upon such an Undertaking, with-
"out apprizing my Friends; however, wait
"you here, pointing to *Roy*, for some Time,
"until I have laid *Leval's* Letter before the
"Pope my Benefactor, and then you shall
"have my Reply." That very Night he went to the Palace of his Holiness, shewed him the Epistle, talked upon the Matter, and, at parting, it was resolved to defer entering

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upon any Enterprize at that Juncture, but to wait a more favourable Opportunity when the Crown of *Britain* might be engaged in a War, which inevitably soon must happen, though in the mean Time *Lovat* might be employed in whetting the Minds of the Highlanders, sowing and cherishing in them the "Seeds of Loyalty that so frequently appeared."

On returning from the Palace of the *Father*, where the Conference was held, the Chevalier wrote an Answer to Lord *Lovat*, in which he thanked him for his Loyalty, and acquainted him with the Particulars of the Conference, gave him a full Power to act in his Name, and as an Earnest of the Recompence he was to receive, he conferred upon him the Title of Duke of *Frazer*, and Lieutenant-General of the Highlands.

So gracious a Return from his *Sovereign*, made such an Impression on the Mind of his Lordship, that in good Earnest he applied himself to the Business of his Master; he went directly to *Edinburgh*, where he set up a Chariot, and lived in a very opulent and sumptuous Manner, though with little of the modern Ceremonies, that exhaust more Money than the most substantial Mals; and by conversing about his own Hardships, during his Exile, his Introduction to *Lewis XIV.*
and

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and some other entertaining Particulars, he soon got a general Acquaintance.

On his Return to the Highlands, where Fame had carried the News of the Splendor of his House, and the Respect that was shewn him, he was carressed and regaled; all of a sudden *Castledownie*, his Residence, from the most penurious, became the most plentiful, and he himself from a churlish and morose Person, became liberal and free; he entertained the Clans without Reserve, kept a Purse full of Sixpences for their Poor; and as his House lies almost in the midst of the Highlands, it was daily frequented: He treated them promiscuously with an Account of the Exploits of their Ancestors under *Montrose*, and upon the Fields of *Killikranksy* and *Cromdale*; “Such a Sword and Target, said he, your honest Grandfather wore that Day, and, with it, he forced his Way through an hundred Men; well did I know him, he was my great Friend, and a very honest Man, few like him now a Days; you resemble him pretty much, but you are not quite so brawny.” Then he began to interpret Prophecies and Dreams, and mention particularly those Dreams of their Fathers before the Battles wherein they had been engaged. I knew a Gentleman of the Name of *Campbell*, who

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in 1715, dreamt something very strange concerning the Government, which being mentioned to *Lovat An.* 1736, he wrote to the Gentleman's Brother for a Copy of it, which being sent, he interpreted it to the Satisfaction of the Clans, so far as to inflame their Inclinations to Arms, and stir up their Spirits to rebel: He would describe the superior Advantage of the Broad Sword and Target over the Gun and Bayonet; and was not wanting to magnify the Weakness of the Army after so long a Peace, and then commanded by a Number of Boys; he would trace their Genealogies as far back as they pleased, shew their Connection with their Chieftain, with one another, and with the neighbouring Clans, and all of them he called his Cousins and Friends; he was acquainted with every Person that had lived in the Country for many Years; he would mention the Exploits of the *Scots* in *France* and in *Sweden*, unriddle the Prophecies of *Thomas Learmont*, of *Bede*, and of *Merlin*, by which Methods, and others of the same kind, he silyly promoted the Rebellion; however, in the Event, it was found that the Thread of his Policy was spun so fine, that at last it failed in the Maker's Hand.

But while Lord *Lovat* was active at Home, and communicating to the Court of *St. Albano*

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lano his Progress, the Chevalier and his Sons made their utmost Efforts Abroad, and having informed the *French* Court of their Advances, they were soothed with Hopes; and as a War broke out in *October* 1739, between *Britain* and *Spain*, this was thought a proper Time. In *June* 1740, *W. Drummond* of *Bochaldie* was sent to the Court of *France*, with a Petition signed by *Perth*, *Lovat*, *Locheol*, and some other of the Chieftains; he soon got Access to Cardinal *Fleury*, to whom *Lovat* was personally known, and soon after had an Answer from the *French* King, who was at that Time *Lewis bien aimé*, or *Lewis the well-beloved*. The King and his Minister behaved each as became them, highly applauding their Scheme of restoring their King, and condoled their Misfortune of being deprived of their Prince, whose Ancestors had so carefully cultivated a League with the Monarchs of *France*. In a Word, the Proposal was relished, but an Hesitation was made concerning the Method of Invasion, as at that Time it was not thought proper to execute the Scheme; Cardinal *Fleury* artfully suggested, that the *French*, being Roman Catholicks, were not so likely to gain the Affections of the People of *Britain*, as a Body of *Swedes*, whose Religion, viz. Lutheranism, differed little from that

of the Protestants there, and therefore proposed to have the Scheme executed by them. These plausible Arguments, managed with that consummate Policy and artful Address of which his Eminence was so great a Master, persuaded the Petitioners to desist for a Time, while the Court of *Versailles* kept them and their Master in her Eye, for a more ticklish and critical Juncture.

The Success of the *Spanish* Privateers against the trading Vessels of the Nation, so animated the Conspirators, that by the latter End of *November* 1743, the Invasion was agreed on, and the Method settled for executing of it. On the 23d of *December*, the Young Chevalier was at *Rome* declared Regent, and the Father's Declarations were drawn up, in Consequence of which, he set out *incognito*, the beginning of *January* 1744, for *Venice*, in his Way to *Versailles*. When about half a Mile from *Rome*, the Chaise in which he was, from a sudden Startling of the Horses, was at once overturned, though he received no Hurt; a Workman was sent for to rectify the Disorder, which by the Care of his Postillion was so well remedied, that he pursued his Journey, and in a few Days arrived at *Paris*, where *John Murray* of *Broughton* saw him for the first Time, had a long Conference with him, and

and insisted upon the Improbability of Success at that Time: And though *Murray's* Arguments were seconded by Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, an *Irish* Gentleman and Favourite, yet all was in vain, for the Adventurer was determined to go, making no doubt of being supported by the *French* Army commanded by Count *Saxe*, for transporting of which, under the Conduct of a *French* Squadron of Men of War, there were the greatest Preparations at *Dunkirk*.

As his Resolution was fixed, it is highly probable he would have visited the Isle of *Britain* this Year, had not two Things happened, which wore but a gloomy Aspect toward him. King *George* got Intelligence of his Scheme, which on the 15th of *February* he imparted to his Parliament, who beside their loyal Addresses, and Promise to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes, not only passed an Act, making it High Treason for the Pretender or any of his Sons to land in *Britain*, or any of the Dominions thereunto belonging, but also set every thing in the best Posture for defeating any Attempt, whether secret or open, while the Throne was crowded with Addresses from every Quarter, and while the combined Fleets of *France* and *Spain* were put to flight after an obstinate Engagement off the Harbour of *Toulon*. These Circumstances determined the

the Chevalier to return to *Rome*, where he only waited a more favourable Opportunity, which in a few Months occurred; for the Court of *France* declared War against *Britain* in *March* afterwards, seized upon several Towns belonging to the Queen of *Hungary*, and in the Beginning of *May* 1745, repulsed the United Forces of the Allies, when endeavouring to raise the Siege of *Tournay*. These Incidents were magnified by his Friends, and so much encouraged himself, that he set out about the latter End of *May* for *Paris*, in a Chaise that was overturned at the very Place where it formerly had been. On his Arrival in *France*, viz. *June* 1745, he wrote a Letter to Mr. *Murray*, informing, that he was soon to be in *Scotland*, and hoped that on his landing the Chiefs might be ready to join; the Letter was transmitted to *Perth*, *Lochiel*, *Lovat*, and the other Heads of his Party; who all, except *Perth*, were utterly against appearing at that Time, and impowered *Murray* to write him their Sentiments; which he accordingly did, but before his Letter reached *Paris*, the Adventurer had, on the 3d of *July*, sailed from *Port Lazare* in *Bretagne*, in a small Vessel of 16 Guns, which being joined off *Belleisle* by the *Elizabeth* of 64, then laden with Arms and Ammunition for his Service, they steered for the Western Isles, directing their
Course

Course by the Back of *Ireland*, but in their Voyage were attacked in $47^{\circ} . 57' . N . L .$ 39 Leagues West from the Meridian of the *Lizard* by the *Lion* Man of War of Fifty-eight Guns. The Engagement continued five Hours within Pistol-Shot of each other, when both Sides were glad to part, having suffered extremely. The *Elizabeth* returned, after having her Captain and sixty-four Men killed, and one hundred and forty-six wounded, but the Frigate pursued her Passage after twice attempting to rake the *Lion* afore-and-aft, till beat off by her Stern-Chace. The *Lion* had forty-five Men killed, one hundred and seven wounded, among whom the brave Capt. *Brett*, all their Lieutenants, seven of whom died of their Wounds, as did the Chaplain, who acted the Soldier at that Time.

Having met with no more Opposition, he landed safe in *South Uist*, upon the 15th of *July*, where his Encouragement did not answer his Expectations; for Old *Clanranald* was in *Arifaig*, dissuading those of his Clan from rising in Arms, and his Brother *Alexander Mc Donald* of *Buisdale* when applied to by the Chevalier, utterly opposed his Scheme: But these Instances could have no Influence upon him, for having got into the good Graces of Lady *Clanranald*, she easily prevailed upon her Elder Son

Son to join him with five hundred Men. On the 24th of that Month he set sail for *Ardnamurchan*, and after a Passage of ten Hours, arrived in *Loch-Soinard*, and upon landing, went to the House of *Donald McDonald* of *Kinloch-moidart*, whence he intimated his Arrival to his Friends. *Cameron* of *Lochiel* repaired to him, but absolutely refused, at that Time, to join, though he produced the *French King's* Obligation to favour his Expedition with all his Force. "Then deliver me up, says the Chevalier, to the Elector of *Hanover*, for since I am arrived among you upon your own Invitation, I'm determin'd not to return." To which *Lochiel* replied, "I must say, your Royal Highness uses me d—n—y ill, to think I could be guilty of delivering you to the Elector: I shall join you as my Honour is engaged, but remember, I tell you, that your hasty Procedure will render your Scheme abortive, and prove the Ruin of your Friends." That very Night the Gentleman gave Orders for calling his Clan together, and these having met, the Question was put, "Join the Prince, or not;" the Majority were of Opinion that the Project was impracticable, and therefore declined, threatening to confine their Chief, that he might not engage in so desperate an Undertaking, in which they risked their All;
but

but he told them, that it was impossible he could “dip deeper than he already had,” for said he, “I have corresponded with him, I “signed a Petition to the *French Court* in his “Favour, and for a thousand Worlds I would “not recede from my Engagements.” Then was the Scheme agreed to; the *Camerons* set up his Standard † at *Glenphillin*, with this Motto, *Tandem bona Causa triumphans*; The good Cause at length triumphing. From this he marched to within a Mile of *Fort William*, where he encamped; and where the Highlanders in the Plot resorted to him, so that before the 8th of *August*, he was joined by the *Mc Donalds* of *Keppoch*, *Glen-gary*, *Glenco*, *Clanranald*, and some of the *Mc Lauchlans*. He made them the largest Promises, and having 25000 *l.* for which his Father had pawned his very Jewels, he was very popular among them, gave the private Men 8*d.* per Day at first, and with his own Hand distributed among them the Arms, of which he brought 700. Nothing was wanting to their Encouragement, for when some of the *Mc Donalds* of *Keppoch* made seventy new-raised Men of General *St. Clair*’s Regiment Prisoners, he gave them the Booty, viz. 50 *l.* the Chiefs were made Colonels, and

† His Standard was a square Piece of Red-Silk representing a White Standard in the middle, fix’d at the End of a long Staff.

and the Forces were regimented after the Manner of regular Troops. And here it will not be improper to give a Sketch of the Character of those principally concerned. And first of

William, Marquis of *Tullebardin*, who had forfeited the Dukedom of *Atbole*, for being in the Rebellion 1715; after which he repaired into *France*, where he was much straitned, having but a small Moiety from his Brother, the present Duke of *Atbole*; so that running into Debt, he had the Misfortune of being imprisoned for three Years, a Circumstance, which more than any Love to the Chevalier or his Interest (he being of the Communion of the Church of *England*) tended to incline him to embark in any Scheme, whereby his Estate might be regain'd: He had been four Years a Lieutenant in the Navy in the Reign of *Queen Anne*; he was no Soldier, though abundantly brave; no Statesman, though a sensible Nobleman, one of great Humanity and Goodness, and exceeding popular; he affected to speak the *Scot's* Dialect in the broadest Manner, by which he procured the Love of the common People, so as to raise above two thousand of them in Arms. He was one of the seven Persons, who, from *France*, landed along with the young Chevalier, as did *Old Lochiel*, who was in the Rebellion 1715, General.

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neral *Mc Donald*, a Lieutenant Col. in the *Irish* Brigades, Sir *Thomas Sheridan*, and Colonel *O Sullivan*, Mr. *Mechel*, his Valet de Chambre, with a Black, and Mr. *Kelly*, who had escaped from the Tower, where he had been confined on the Affair of the Bishop of *Rocheſter* for ſeveral Years.

James Drummond, commonly called Duke of *Perth*, was a young Man, Chief of a noble Family that ſometimes intermixed with the Blood Royal, was good natured, mild, and affable, fond of a Country Life and Horſe Races, at which his Courſers frequently won the Prize; he underſtood ſeveral Parts of Learning well, among which the Theory of War, but was no practical Soldier, tho' naturally couragious and bold; he was very ſprightly, though a tender Man, for a Barrel having rolled over him when a Child, he received a Bruiſe in his Lungs by which he contracted ſo much Weakneſs, as to feel a ſenſible Heavineſs at his Heart toward Bed-time; when he uſually took a little boiled Milk and Bread, or ſome ſuch gentle Food; he was naturally of the moſt extenſive Benevolence and Charity, and to the utmoſt of his Opportunity a Father to the Poor, having ſettled ſeveral Manufactures for encouraging of them. Unhappily for him, his Mother, a Daughter of the Duke of *Gordon's*, a Roman Catholic, ſent him to *France* in his

his Infancy, where being bred in the Principles of the Church of *Rome*, and in the Policy of the Court of *Versailles*, his Disposition was turned to serving the Pretender, as his Father and Grandfather had done before.

John Murray, of *Broughton*, was so much a Protestant, as to baptize his Children by the Dissenters; he was bred up at the University in *Edinburgh*, where he made some Progress in his Studies, and was always looked upon as an agreeable Man enough, but had no Opportunity of being well acquainted with the Constitution of his Country, the Ignorance of which, more than the Principles in which he was bred, rendered him an easy Prey to those who had engaged in the Scheme of bringing in the Pretender, whose Secretary he was made, being among the first that came to him from the Low Countries, but though he signed the Papers for Form's Sake, yet he is thought to have known but little of his Intrigues, considering the Station he bore.

Donald Cameron, Younger of *Lockiel*, a Nonjurant Episcopalian, Chief of an Ancient Family, was a very humane Gentleman, and had given great Proofs of his Inclination to civilize those of his Name, who had been odious for several Ages for a purloining Disposition, which hitherto shewed
itself

itself in open Robberies *: His Country, that lies upon a Coast abounding with Fish, is fit for Grain and Pasture, but his lazy Clan are averse to Improvement ; Merchants have set up Fisheries among them, but these always failed through the bad Principles of those who were entrusted ; such a Conduct, together with their Rebellions, hindered their being employed, since the Revolution, in the Army, Church, or State ; so that being utter Strangers to the Constitution, several of them had gone into Foreign Armies, and one of them a Lieutenant of *Ruth's* Regiment, was confined for some Months and tried *Anno 1743*, at *Edinburgh*, for enlisting Men into the *French* King's Service ; a Circumstance which prevailed on them to follow the Course of their Chieftain, who can hardly be screened from the Imputation of Ingratitude to the Government, which indulged him in the peaceable Possession of his Estate, notwithstanding the frequent Rebellions of his Family.

Ranald Mc Donald, junior, of *Clanranald*, an avowed Roman Catholic, has in *South Uist*, an Island twenty - four Miles long,

* *Drummond of Hawthordens* Lives of the *James's*, p. 6. They were fiercer than Fierceness itself. The God, Prince, Law, which they obey are their Chieftains ; amongst which, he is thought the best, who doth most transcend in Villainy.

long, an Estate of 700 *l. per Annum*; he was reckoned a very civil Gentleman, but his Misfortune is, that his Clan, being of the same Religion with himself, and being clustered together in the same Spot, have little or no Communication with the Continent, except once a Year, when some of their Black Cattle are transported, the major Part being barrell'd up and conducted into *France*, in whose Army many of them are employed: No Arts or Sciences prevail among them, except the Sword, at which they play with more Fierceness than Skill; their Education consists in relating the Acts of their Ancestors, tracing out their Genealogies, and describing their Sea-fights with the *Mc Leans*: They are generally of a very low Stature, though, like the *Camerons*, agile, vigorous and brave; their Language, like that of the other Highlanders and Islanders, is the *Irish*, but their Dialect is the most refined; however, these, with the other Circumstances formerly mentioned, make them ignorant Contemners of our Laws, and ready to rise in Arms, like the Stock of their Family †, *John* of the Isles, who took upon him no less than the Title of King, and his Father *Alexander*, who was forfeited for Rebellion, *Anno* 1476.

Alex-

† The second lineal Bastard of this *John*, who was forfeited for Rebellion against *James IV.* 1503.

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Alexander Mc Donald of *Keppoch*, though a Chieftain of a Branch of his Name, is so far from being considerable, that if it was not for the violent Possession of a small Estate of about 100*l. per Annum*, and the frequent Robberies of his Vassals, had never been heard of: He had been in his younger Years a Captain in the *French Armies*, till the Death of his Father, who had got no less than seven Remissions from the Government; so that it was no great Difficulty to raise 5 or 600 poor People, who depended upon a Man of *Keppoch's* Income; however, he was a more proper Person than either *Lochiel* or *Clanranald*, as he joined the *French Skill* to the Highland Intrepidity and Fierceness.

The *Stuarts* of *Appin*, hitherto zealous for the Pretender, and who live but poorly, joined the Chevalier under *Stuart* of *Ardshiel*, a Gentleman of good Parts, but misapplied.

The *Mc Donalds* of *Glengary*, who united under their Chieftain's second Son, are much like those of *Keppoch*, of a good Size, but exceeding poor, and addicted to Theft and Robbery; if any Religion be among them, it is Popery.

The few *Mc Donalds* of *Glenco*, who live in a barren Glen, about four Miles long and half a Mile broad, were, like their Neighbours

bours of *Keppoch* and *Lochiel*, drowned in Ignorance, and ready upon a Prospect of Plunder, to engage in the most desperate Cause.

Lauchlan Mc. Lauchlan, of *Castle Lauchlan*, had, in *Argyleshire*, the small Reserve of an Estate, the Bulk of which had been forfeited for Rebellion and Feuds with the Family of *Argyle*; he was easily brought into the Scheme, though a very genteel and sensible Man; I knew some of his Officers, Men of *O Sullivan's* Education, (*Roman Catholics*) who like the others of their thin Clan, were very mercurial, seemingly nimble, and abundantly strong.

I need not speak of the *Mc Grigours*, who were obliged to change their Names into *Drummond*, *Graham*, *Gordon*, and *Murray*, an Act being past against them in the Reign of *James I.* for Seditions and Murders; for being dispossessed of *Broadalbine*, they took up Arms in this and other Rebellions, judging, that in the midst of Commotions, what they had lost might be regained. Such were the Abettors of this Insurrection, these were the Men the young Pretender brought with him for reinstating the *British* Isle in their Religion, Laws, and Liberties, to remove the Incroachments made upon a free People, and secure them in the Enjoyment of their valuable Rights!

Though

Though the Chevalier's Arrival on the Western Coast might have been kept secret, had he followed either the Advice of Mr. *Mc Donald* of *Buisdale*, while in the Isle of South *Uist*, or of *Locheol*, when upon the Continent; yet now his Progress was so great, that it alarmed not only the Southern Parts of *Scotland*, but even the Regency themselves, who as early as the 8th of *June* had been informed that an Invasion was designed.

For Sir *Hector Mc Lean*, who was a Lieutenant-Colonel in Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment in *France*, with one *Bleau* of *Castle-bell*, arrived at *Leith* on the 3d of *June* in a Ship from *Rotterdam*, and visiting some of their Friends, a Suspicion arose from the hidden Steps which they took; so that Mr. *Craigie*, the King's Advocate, gave a Warrant for seizing of both, which was instantly done: The Solicitor for *Scotland*, went with the Party who were sent to take up the former; he found him at the Head of the *Cannongate*, in a Back-Room in the House of one *Mc Donald*, a Roman Catholic and Taylor, sealing some Papers, one of which was snatched out of his Hand, and his Portmanteau directly secured; being brought before the Lords Advocate and Justice *Clark*, and examined, he told them, he had Relations in *Scotland* and was come

to pay them a Visit; he was then shewn some decyphered Letters, and particularly asked about them; but he replied, it would be ill Manners in him to read any Letters with which he had been intrusted. As they were wrote in particular Characters the Judges and Lawyers could make nothing of them, so that they desired he should read them, but he answered, "The Lords Advocate for *Scotland* were generally Gentlemen of Learning, and it is a Shame for any in that Character to ask this of me." On which he and *Bleau* were sent to the Castle for further Examination, and in three Weeks afterwards were ordered up to *London*, where, *July* 10, they arrived, under a strong Guard, and next Day underwent a long Examination; where though the decyphered Letters could not be explained, and consequently no legal Proof could be brought against them, yet the Earl of *Stair*, who was one of the Regency, declared, that there was sufficient Evidence of their being concerned in a Plot: "I can, continued that great Man, remember, when the Father of this *Mc Lean* was examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, concerning an Invasion, and its well-known what an active Hand he had in the Rebellion 1715, and though the Law does not fix Guilt unless a positive Evidence be brought,

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“brought, yet I think, that when a Man’s
 “Conscience (as in the Case of *Solomon* and
 “the two Harlot’s) is convinced, it is Time
 “then to condemn; and can any Person
 “doubt the carrying mystical Letters in Time
 “of War to be Treason?” They were closely
 confined, but nothing ever could be made
 appear against them, though at the *Old Bai-*
ley they were afterwards arraign’d. The
 Regency then convinced that an Invasion
 was intended, issued out a Proclamation,
 setting 30,000 *l.* on the Head of the young
 Pretender; which when he saw, he issued
 out one upon *August* 22, setting the like
 Sum on the Head of his Majesty *K. George*, a
 Copy of which we shall set down.

Locherbag, August 22, 1745.

WHereas upon setting up our Royal
 Standard, for the Recovery of our
 just Right to the Throne of our Ancestors,
 we were not a little surprized to find that the
 Elector of *Hanover*, had not only contrary to
 the Moderation of Christian Princes, but
 even to Humanity itself, given an Encourag-
 ment to Parricide, by setting 30,000 *l.* upon
 the Head of our Royal Father, or our own,
 and so make us fall a Sacrifice to the Hands
 of bloody and cruel Men, as our Great-
 Grandfather, King *Charles* I. of glorious
 Memory, had done near a Century ago:

This is therefore requiring all our Leige Subjects to endeavour to take the Elector of *Hannover* dead or alive, if he should venture to land in any of the King's Dominions, and they shall receive a Reward of 300,000 *l.* in Consideration of so good and important a Service.

Signed CHARLES, P. R.

By his Highness's Command,

JOHN MURRAY.

This Paper was not only sufficient to shew the Spirit of the Party, from the bare Mention of the Name of King *Charles*, who notwithstanding he died by the Hand of an Executioner, yet is represented as a Tyrant in the *English* Annals, though a Saint in the Liturgy of the Church; whence some Churchmen heartily wish it was expunged; but, likewise, shewed that Things were now come to such an Extremity, as required a mutual Anxiety and Care. Such as corresponded with him repaired to his Standard; and among others, *James*, called Duke of *Perth*, having escaped in a pretty singular Manner, Captain *Campbell* of *Invera* went with a Party to take him, in Consequence of a Letter from the Lord Chief-Justice *Clark*. *Invera* applied to Sir *Patrick Murray* of *Achtertire*, and desired to be introduced to his Grace, but

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but told him nothing of the Matter; as *Pertb* was a very social Nobleman, he received the Visit kindly, and entertained them handsomely, as became him. During their Repast, *Invera*, just about the Time he expected his Company under the Command of Lieutenant *Dougal Campbell*, my worthy Pupil, from whom I had the Information, took *Pertb* aside, and very politely informed him of his Business; he was struck for a while, but recovering, said, "Very well Mr. *Campbell*, I am at your Service, desire *Patie Murray* to speak with me;" which the Captain too readily doing, *Pertb* went out by a secret Passage, which leads to his Kitchen, and by a Back-door made the best of his Way thro' his Park, at the very Time that the Party of the Highland Watch were entering the Avenue from the other Side to seize him. From this he crossed over to *Angus*, rode through the North Country *incognito*, with only one Servant, and so arrived at the Camp of the young *Chevalier*; as did *John Roy Stuart*, then a Captain of Grenadiers in Lord *John Drummond's* Regiment; he had embarked at *Helvoetsluys* for *Harwich*, where he was scarce arrived, when the very Ship he had been in, by a Warrant from the Regency was search'd.

But whatever Haste the Generality might make, yet, as in like Cases, some of the Conspirators fell into the Hands of the Government,

vernment, among whom *John Graham*, alias *M'Gregor*, Younger of *Glengyle*, was committed to the Castle on the 28th of *July*, on Suspicion of Treason; for being in Company with his Father when at *Daal-spider*, a Place five Miles from any House, he in the Night-time seized upon 40 Soldiers, who were employed in mending the Road begun by General *Wade*, and in Building a House for the better accomodating of Strangers. *August 13*, *John Macleod* from *Holland*, and on the 23d *James Rollo* of *Powhouse*, were likewise confined.

How hard is it to figure the Case People were in at the Time? Such as knew the *Highlanders* were justly afraid, while the ignorant ridicul'd and despis'd them.

The Duke of *Argyle* being then at *Rose-neath*, in *Scotland*, had an original Letter of the Pretender to Sir *Alexander Mc Donald*, put into his Hands, with a Copy of one to the Laird of *Mc Leod*; he hastened to *Edinburgh*, laid it before Mr. *Cragie* the Advocate, who laughed at the Matter, for, said he, "What a strange *Chimera* is it to suppose a young Man, with seven Persons, capable of overturning a Throne?" To which his Grace replied, "From the Circumstance of Landing with seven Persons only, the more is to be feared." And indeed his Grace's Opinion was just, since he had got an Invitation

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tion from *Perth*, *Murray*, *Lovat*, *Lochiel*, *Clanranald*, *Keppoch*, *Glenco*, *Sir Alexander Mc Donald*, *Sir James Stuart*, and many others too tedious here to mention. Yea, the Lord Advocate went so far as not to believe the *Chevalier* was actually landed; but his Doubts were removed, when his Grace produced a Letter, of Date *August 5*, from *Sir Duncan Campbell* of *Locknel*, a very worthy Gentleman, of the greatest Veracity, and my particular Friend, having had the Honour of being Tutor to his Heir.

One *Mr. Campbell*, who keeps an Inn at *Aros* in *Mull*, where I knew him perfectly well, had upon the first Surmise cross'd over to *Castle Mingry*, where he saw the *Chevalier* attended by several Officers, and Chiefs, and being fully satisfied of the Truth of it, he dispatched a Letter to *Sir Duncan*, with the Account of the News: The Day being calm, the Boat in which was the Express, made very great Way, and in three Hours was at *Ardmuknage*, to the Expence of the Rowers, from whom the Sweat was pouring down; *Sir Duncan*, without hesitating a Moment, sent off an Express to *Inverara* with it; as the Duke was not there, the Sheriff of *Argyle*, instantly sent another to *Roseneath*, whence his Grace dispatched it to the Regency, with a full Assurance that they might entirely depend upon what was therein contained.

The Regency, though at first they treated the Matter with but too much Ridicule, had yet ordered Sir *John Cope*, then Lieutenant General of the King's Forces in *Scotland*, to draw towards the Highlands, in order to be ready to disperse them on their first Appearance; but that Gentleman, like the Magistrates of *Thebes*, who despised the Intimation of the Arrival of *Pelopidas*, and the other Exiles, thought it needless to obey, as he looked upon the Matter with Disdain; and when convinced that it was no Jest, whether from an Unwillingness to go to the Highlands, where he could not get good Victuals and Drink, or thro' Fright arising from the Representation of the Disaffected, he very poorly executed his Orders. Certain it is, that never was more Industry used to magnify the Number of the Enemy; to give one Instance, one *McLean*, a Chairman, being returned to *Edinburgh*, from a Visit to his Friends, declared before the Magistrates, that he saw an Army in *Ardnamurchan*, which occupied in Camp a large Scots Mile; that he saw four or five Ships hovering upon the Coast, and several Men, whose Dress he particularly described, land from them; a special Size was assigned their Cannon, the *Chevalier* was magnified as one of the strongest Men upon Earth, and in fine nothing was omitted that might forward his Cause.

Scotland,

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Scotland, before this, was in perfect Peace, few Forces were in it, and these but new levied Men; for as the Generality of the People were well affected, except in those Parts, where the Rebellion broke out, it was judged necessary only to keep a few for garrisoning the Forts, and awing the Smugglers, so that the Pretender laid hold of the properest Season, after the Repulse of our Forces at *Tournay*, to invade a Country almost naked and unprepared.

General *Cope*, in Obedience to his Instructions, at last, issued out his Orders, dated *August* 13, to the several Parties of the Troops instantly to repair to their respective Posts. Arms and Ammunition were sent to the Camp at *Stirling*, and to the Garrisons from the Castle of *Edinburgh*. On the 19th he set out from that Place, in Company with the Earl of *Loudon*, and several other Officers, for *Stirling*, to put himself at the Head of the Army, then consisting of 2190 Men, nearly, viz. *Murray's* Regiment of Foot, 8 Companies of *Lascelles*, 2 of *Guise's*, 5 of *Lee's*, 183 of the Highland Regiment, *Gardiner's* and *Hamilton's* Dragoons.

On the 21st he marched from *Stirling*, with the Infantry, six Field Pieces, two Coehorns, and several covered Waggons, leaving the Horse behind, as there was no Forage for them in the Country through which he

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was to pass; so crossing the *Forth*, by *Stirling* Bridge, he proceeded by the Way of *Taybridge*, in order to disperse the Enemy. After a March of 57 Miles he arrived at *Dalquiny*, a publick Station, belonging to the Government, in the Middle of *Drumauchter*, a Desart almost twenty-four Miles in Length; here a Council of War was held, and the Question was put, to proceed to the Left, and attack the Rebels, then on the same Road from *Fort Augustus*, or to the Right in their Way to *Inverness*; it was carried to proceed to the Left. Accordingly they set out, and marching one Mile, they had Intelligence that the Rebels were within twelve Miles of them at *Lagan Vaan*, i. e. *the milky Valley*. An unhappy Opinion prevailed, that from their mutual Advances, the Encounter must be on *Coryerroig*, a Hill, by its Situation promising more Advantages to them, than to the King's Troops; *Cope*, all at once, wheeled to the Right, and marched by *Ruthven* to *Inverness*, where on the 29th he arrived.

The *Chevalier* was at *Coryerroig*, when he heard of this false Step of the General; of whom, from that Time, he spoke in a very derisive Manner, and for encouraging his Men, he called for a Cask of Brandy, and taking a Glass in his Hand, said, with a geering Smile, "Here's a Health to Mr. *Cope*,"
" he

“ he is my Friend, and if all the Usurper’s
 “ Generals follow his Example, I shall soon
 “ be at *St. James’s*.” Usquebaugh was ordered the private Men, and the Health of General *Cope* was drunk thro’ the Army; and indeed he deserved their Thanks, for had he pursued his March, and directly attacked them, considering he had Artillery, and they none, besides several of them but ill armed, he might have obtained an easy Victory, and if he could not bring them to an Engagement, he might have made such a Diversion as would have forced them soon to disband; but this Gentleman’s Misfortune was to be unacquainted with the Country, against which he was prejudiced, and to trust the Reports which so much swelled the Number of his Enemies. I know very well that the Court Martial, for the Trial of Mr. *Cope*, passed an high Encomium upon this Part of his Conduct, but as that does not appear to me in the Light it did to them, I must be excused for Writing what I know to be true, and is known to all who are acquainted with the Geography of the Country, the Nature of the Highlanders, who are soon put into Disorder, and the then Situation of Affairs.

The Army having past them, the Chevalier marched into the Low Country in Triumph, exulting in his good Success, and on

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the 31st of *August* arrived at *Blair of Athole*. where, and upon the Road, he was met by those who were dazzled with the first Appearance of his Success; and it is observable, that Lord *Nairn*, who was pardoned for Rebellion 1715, was the first to have an active Hand in promoting his Interest.

On *Monday, September 2*, he came down to *Dunkeld*, accompanied by the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, and several of the Chiefs, who all sup'p'd that Night in the Duke of *Athole's* House, his Grace having retired on Hearing of their Approach. The Adventurer did all in his Power to appear chearful, notwithstanding he was generally thought dull and morose, he begged for the *Scots* Dishes, and having picked up some Words of the *Irish* Language, he drank to the Officers in that Tongue; next Day he went toward *Perth*, and having got half-way he turned to the Right, and that Night lodged in Lord *Nairn's* House, which is a beautiful Situation. He entered *Perth* on Horseback next Day, attended by *Perth, Mercer of Aldie*, and *Oliphant of Gask*, amidst the repeated Acclamations of his Party, who had the Day before proclaimed his Manifestoes. Here he put up in the Viscount of *Stormont's* Lodging, and received daily Reinforcements from the Marquis, who was now returned to *Blair*, that he might have it more in his
Power

Power to serve him. Among the Number of those who joined him, was Lord *George Murray*, Brother to the Marquis, who on hearing that he was approaching, testified his Diffidence, and declared he wish'd he might prove an honest Man; Lord *George*, being admitted into his Brother's Presence, fell down upon his Knee before him, and proffered him his Service; the Marquis signified his Distrust, tho' he accepted of it, on which Lord *George* bound himself with a Curse, that he would be faithful and true. This being over, and a very sumptuous Dinner prepared, as Lord *George* was a great Epicure, though very strong and courageous, he set out directly for the Pretender's Quarters, where he was no sooner arrived than he was made "Lieutenant General of the King's Army". The *Robertsons* of *Blairfitty*, *Struan*, and *Cushivale*, with the *Stuarts* and *Mc Gregors* followed directly, while all who had little to lose, and less to expect, People outlawed by Church and State, resorted to him as to an Asylum. Here he continued training his Men, who were very backward in learning their Exercise, perhaps through their want of the *English* Language, and whom he sometimes, though in a low Tone, called *his Staigs*. He once gave a Ball to the Ladies, at which he took a single Trip and instantly withdrew.

But

But while the two Armies, at the Distance of 83 Miles, were preparing, the one to penetrate forward, the other to get up to a proper Station to prevent their Progress, the Country in general was in an Amaze. On the 7th a Detachment from *Glanranald's* Corps entered *Dundee*, and proclaimed the Pretender, searched the Town for Horses, Arms and Ammunition, levied the publick Money, and next Day some of them entered the Church out of meer Curiosity, having never been in a Protestant Assembly before; they expected that the Ministers would be so far over-aw'd as not to pray for King *George*, but to their Disappointment he not only was prayed for, but Loyalty was warmly recommended, and that without the least Molestation from them. A Ship with Gunpowder on Board was seized, and carried to *Perth*, while other Parties visited the Towns along the Coast of *Fife*, rifled the Merchants Shops of what was valuable, and carried the same to the Pretender, who ordered them back to the Owners upon paying one third of the original Price; while the Corn, Straw, and best Cattle of the Labourer, were seized.

Such was the Situation of Affairs there, when General *Cope*, after staying five Days at *Inverness* for refreshing of his Men, and concerting Measures with the Lord President, and some others, for hindering Recruits be-
ing

ing sent to the Enemy, decamped the 4th of *September* for *Aberdeen*, where he ordered some Transports to be ready for the bringing up his Forces to *Leith*; he was attended by Captain *George Munro*, of *Culcairn*, who had 200 of his Brother's Vassals under his Command, was waited on by several well affected Gentlemen, such as Lord *Lyon* and Lord *Braco*, who did all in their Power to keep up the Spirit of the Soldiers, and render the March agreeable to him; but this did not hinder his encamping amidst the ripe standing Corn, contrary to all Remonstrance. On the 11th of *September*, the very Day the Chevalier set out from *Perth*, the Army arrived at *Aberdeen*, where they halted till the 15th, when they embarked on board the Transports, and sailed for *Leith*, whose *Firth* they had no sooner entered, on the 17th, than Word was brought that the City of *Edinburgh* had that very Day fallen into the Hands of the Enemy; this obliged *Cope* to divert his Course to *Dunbar*, where that Night his Forces were disembarked, in order to be in Readiness for marching against the Enemy, who by the fatal Step taken by the Army, of marching to *Inverness*, had made the most surprising Progress.

For having Intelligence of the failing of the Transports, and March of the Troops, they set out from *Perth* on the 11th, and on
the

the 13th forded the *Forth* at the *Frew*, where *Gardiner's* Dragoons made a Shew to oppose them, but one Party appeared at one Place, while the other passed over a little higher, on which, *Gardiner*, who knew the Rowness of his Regiment, quickly retired. Being all passed over, they seemed to direct their Rout toward *Glasgow*, to which City they sent a Summons, but received no Answer; this Step of theirs was only a Feint to leave the Passage of the *Forth* open for the Dragoons to pass, and with General *Cope* to do something upon their Estates, that might excuse their Actions. But finding that the judicious *Gardiner* was not caught by the Bait, they turned toward *Edinburgh*. The Castle of *Stirling* fired upon them as they passed, and some Balls lighted within twenty Yards of the Chevalier, but being in haste the Compliment was not returned. The Dragoons kept about six Miles before the Enemy, both marching slowly to *Edinburgh*, where from the Day of their leaving *Perth*, all Precautions were taken for preserving the Place. Numbers of Volunteers, composed of the Clergy, Counsellors, Attornies, and Merchants, not only bore Arms, and in their Turn stood Centry, but liberally contributed by Subscription, toward raising 1000 Foot for his Majesty's Service; a Patent, of Date
Sep-

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September 4, being signed for that Purpose.

About 18 Pieces of Cannon were brought from Ships in *Leith* Road, and planted upon the Ports of the Town; Ramparts, Pallisadoes and Barricadoes were erected at the Gates and Walls; and besides the *English* Engineers, Mr. *Mc Laurin*, that Ornament of Mankind, under whom I had the Happiness to study Mathematical Learning, contributed to fix the Batteries, while the Bank, Publick Offices, and the most valuable Effects of some private Persons, were secured in the Castle, whither 6000 Stand of Arms had been sent from *London*, about ten Days before.

On *Sunday* Morning the 15th, tho' the City was alarmed with the Approach of the Enemy, yet publick Worship began as usual, about ten o'Clock, but at eleven the Bell was tolled, as a Signal to open the Gates to *Hamilton's* Dragoons, who had been sent for from *Leith*, and were now riding at an hard Trot, in order to join Col. *Gardiner*, then at *Carstorphin*. The Congregations apprehending that the Enemy was near, flew out of the Churches, and filled the Streets in a Moment; about 400 Volunteers, and about 1000 Trained Bands, drew up in the Lawn Market, and *Parliament-Close*, where they made a very fine Appearance; Numbers carrying

carrying a Musket who were capable of buying a Captain's Commission; they were not long under Arms till the Dragoons entered the City, rode along their Line, and brandished their Swords, while they, and the Crowd that surrounded, answered their Huzzas, and tossed up their Hats in the Air. The Horses and Men, though raw and young, looked so extremely well, that many were tempted to put too much trust in them. They proceeded toward Colonel *Gardiner*, who frequently declared that had they been with him at *Stirling*, he could have stopped the Enemies Passage, which I am apt to believe, as the Ford they entered is more than Knee-deep, and could only admit of 20 at a Time.

A little after, the whole City Guard, together with the *Edinburgh* Regiment, marched out, and halted on the East-side of *Coltbridge*, about a Mile from the City, in Expectation of being joined by the Volunteers, who refused, judging their proper Station to be within the Walls of the Town, which they had only engaged to defend. The Lord Provost sent a Message to those at the Bridge, to march forward, to join the Dragoons, and to receive Orders from the Commanders of the King's Troops; this they obeyed, and continued till Night under Arms; Provisions of all Sorts were sent them

them from the Town, and nothing was wanting on the Side of the Country People to render their Situation agreeable. At 9 o' Clock the Dragoons retired a Mile Eastward, and lay all Night upon their Arms, the Enemy being advanced to *New Liston*, the Seat of the Earl of *Stair*; against whom they bore the most deadly Hatred; yet they did not trouble his Estate at that Time, tho' after the Battle of *Preston*, they rifled his Parks, and carried off what Cattle was in them.

Next Morning they continued their Rout to *Carstorphin*, which a Party of Dragoons posted there abandoned, retiring to the main Body at *Colt-Bridge*, to the East of which they drew up. I saw the Dragoons formed in the Shape of a Crescent, with Colonel *Gardiner* at their Head, notwithstanding he was muffled up in a wide blue Coat, with an Handkerchief below his Hat, and tied under his Chin; and the City Guard, with the *Edinburgh* Regiment, some few Paces before them; the former made a fine, but the latter a despicable Appearance; for the City Guard of *Edinburgh*, is composed either of superannuated Soldiers, or else broken Watermen, Chairmen, and Gentlemen's Servants, most of whom keep lewd Houses, and are notorious Pimps. Had the Dragoons now dismounted, and attacked the Enemy,

who

who were drawn up to the Westward of *Castorphine*, waiting with Impatience the Return of a Letter, which the Chevalier, now quite morose and distrustful of the Event, had sent by a trusty Friend into *Edinburgh*, they might have either soon dispersed them by a vigorous Onset, or wearied them out by Delay; which perhaps might have been the Case, had not an advanced Party of the Guard, who was sent out for Intelligence, seen a Party of the Enemy who had been dispatched on the same Errand, returned in Haste to their Corps, and informed them that the whole Body was marching toward them, though these did not stir till they heard of the Retreat of the Forces. A Pannick seized their Comrades, the Story was magnified to the Dragoons, who likewise were infected with Fear, so that about three in the Afternoon, the whole quitted their Station; the Dragoons riding off by the North Side of the City for *Haddington*, while the City Soldiers retired into the Town, where a general Uproar and Tumult prevailed; to remedy which, the Magistrates and Council expecting General *Cope*, and the Forces, every Moment, assembled in *Goldsmith's - Hall*, where a Petition was presented from the principal Inhabitants, desiring a general Meeting of the Citizens should be called. After some Reasoning the Request was granted;

granted; the Fire-bell was rung, and in an Instant the New Church Isle was filled, when the Design of meeting was intimated, and the Question put by Mr. *Stuart*, the Lord Provost, then Colonel of the new Regiment, and Member of Parliament for the City, Receive the Dragoons into the Town, or not? It was answered, *No Dragoons*. As his Lordship did not incline to invite them for fear of the Consequences, so General *Guest* was averse to send them unless formally called: Then the Question was put, *Defend the Town or not?* All but two said, *Not*. Upon this it was agreed to capitulate on the best Terms that could be obtained; and, in the mean Time, that the King's Arms should be returned into the Castle. As they were about to name Deputies to treat with the Chevalier, a Letter was handed in directed to the Lord Provost and Magistrates, whose Superscription was *Charles Prince of Wales*, on mentioning which Words the Reader was stopt, and all but the Magistrates withdrew. Deputies were sent to him with Proposals, which they presented at *Gray's-Mill*, a Plate two Miles West of *Edinburgh*; he told them, "I don't treat with Subjects;" and *Perth* added, "The King's Declaration, and Prince's Manifesto, contained such Terms, as every Subject ought to accept with Joy:" And so gave them till two in the Morning

to

to return a positive answer. The Chevalier asked what was become of the Arms of the Volunteers, and *Edinburgh* Regiment, and being told that they were delivered into the Castle, he said with great Warmth, " If any of the Town's Arms are missing, I know what to do." This being reported to the Magistrates, other Deputies were sent off craving a further Delay, which was refused. On this they returned in the same Coach wherein they had gone, passed through the West-Port, and having alighted, the Coachman drove down to the *Netherbow*, where by his Importunies he prevailed on the Porter and Centinels to open the Folds of the Door. On this the *Camerons* rushed in, possessed themselves of the Gate, then of the main Guard, making a Party of the City Regiment, and Train-Bands, on Duty, Prisoners; on which, the Inhabitants were greatly alarmed; some of them loudly complained of Provost *Stuart*, who, on the 30th of *November*, was taken into Custody of two of the King's Messengers, on Suspicion of Treason, and on the 13th of *December* was committed to the Tower, from whence he was bailed, and appointed to be tried by the Lords of Justiciary in *Scotland*; his Trial lasted four Days, when the Jury, for the most Part intoxicated with Liquor, and benumbed with Drowsiness, brought in their Verdict

Not

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Not Guilty, to the great Surprize of many, but particularly the Clergy; one of whom, Mr. *Robert Wallace*, a Minister in *Edinburgh*, told me, that, “ In all the Deliberations for Defence of the City, Provost *Stuart* was a dead Weight upon them, and that they could do nothing to preserve it, unless they had bound him in Chains.†”

But while People approved or condemned the Conduct of the Magistrates in general, and of the Provost in particular, the Pretender and his Party hitherto successful beyond their Expectations, prepared for fresh Advantages which daily ensued.

† These were his express Words, and he is still alive.

The End of the FIRST BOOK.



BOOK



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,

MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK II.

CONTENTS.

*The Chevalier's Conduct at Edinburgh;
his Father's Declarations and his own;
the Battle of Preston-Pans, and his
Behaviour afterwards.*

THE Metropolis of *Scotland*, the Residence of such an illustrious Race of Kings, who from Time to Time dignified this noble City, which for the Loftiness of her Buildings, the Spaciousness of her Streets, the Beauty and Exactness of her Squares, the Comeliness of her Orchards, the Fineness of her Gardens, the Fulness of her Libraries, the Order of her Courts of Justice, the Reputation of her Colleges and Schools,

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Schools, can vie with any in *Europe*, having partly thro' Treachery, partly thro' Fear, fallen into the Hands of the Pretender; a Way was pav'd for ushering in a Scene, that before the End of the Week, closed so fatally for the royal Cause.

For no sooner had the Enemy entered, than they spread themselves along the Sides of the Streets, and fill'd the *Parliament-Close* before Five in the Morning. They were, indeed, but a disagreeable Spectacle, being very ragged, and several wanting Arms, especially Firelocks, with which they were soon supplied by those of the City, that fell into their Hands; and what render'd them still more disgustful, was their Ignorance of our Language, and being Strangers to our Laws; their rusty Weapons, some of which resembled a Serjeant's Halbert, but longer, were rubbed up by the Armourers, who were constantly employ'd. They set about providing Cloaths, Shoes and Linnens, of which they were in great Want, the most Part having only a short Coat of coarse *Tartan*, a Pair of Plaid Hose, much worn, reaching scarce above the Calf of the Leg, their Plaids and Bonnets in the same Condition; however, in three Days, there was a visible Alteration, not only in their Cloaths, but in their Looks and Gait, they

D

being

being supplied not only with Refreshments, but Cordials also.

By Eight, the Adventurer himself arrived at *Duddingston* with the rest of the Army, having fetched an half Compass about the Town, for Fear of the Batteries from the Castle. He made his Entry to the Abbey, thro' the Road that leads by St. *Anthony's* Well, *Perth* riding on his Right, and *David* Lord *Elcho*, who had joined the Night before, on his Left-Hand. They were generally in Highland Habits, very much jaded, as was his whole Corps. As he came to the Head of the Hill, he alighted and walked a few Steps, where halting, several of the Disaffected fell down upon their Knees and kissed his Hand, at which he frequently smiled. Here was raised the first general Huzza, which being over, he walked down to St. *Ann's* Yards, where he mounted a fine bay brown Gelding, of which *Perth* had made him a Present. Here he sat on Horseback for a few Minutes, while *Perth* describ'd to him the Geography of the Park, and like an intelligent Farmer, inform'd him of the Nature and Produce of the different Parcels of Ground. He seem'd very thoughtful, notwithstanding his Endeavours to disguise; was very attentive to those about him, and so observing of Lord *Elcho*, that for above five Minutes he fixed his left Eye Sideways upon

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upon him. The Viscount of *Strathallan*, and his Secretary of State Mr. *Murray*, having come up, it was agreed, that the private Men should encamp in the Park while he advanced forward: So having received another Huzza, and the Gates of the Park being opened, he rode to the Abbey, amidst repeated Acclamations, which he received with a continued tho' an irregular Smile. He was a slender young Man, about five Feet ten Inches high, of a ruddy Complexion, high nosed, large rolling brown Eyes, long Visage; his Chin was pointed, and Mouth small, in Proportion to his Features; his Hair was red, but at that Time he wore a pale Peruke; he was in Highland Dress, with a blue Sash wrought with Gold coming over his Shoulder, red velvet Breeches, a green velvet Bonnet with a gold Lace round it, and a white Cockade which was the Cross of St. *Andrew*. He likewise had a silver hilted broad Sword, was booted, and had a Pair of Pistols before him. His Speech was fly, but very intelligible; his Dialect was more upon the *English* than the *Scottish* Accent, seem'd to me pretty like that of the *Irish*, some of whom I had known.

Having come to *Holyrood* House, and put up in the Duke of *Hamilton's* Lodging, his next Care was, that his Manifestoes might

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be proclaimed, which was soon accomplished; for the Heralds being secured by the *Camerons*, betwixt twelve and one o'Clock at Noon, six of them came to the Cross in their Robes with a Fidler, blowing a Trumpet before them. *David Beatt*, * formerly a Writing-master in *Edinburgh*, but now a Bankrupt, read the Papers to the Herald who repeated after him. It was at the Moment of Time they mounted the Cross, that the Thought entered my Mind of writing the History of this Rebellion; for it was easy to see, that a few ill-arm'd Mob could not withstand a disciplin'd Army. Then while the *Clan Cameron* in three Ranks surrounded the Cross, on which were several, among whom *Mc Donald* of *Barisdale*, presenting their Guns to their Comrades with a Smile, shew their Satisfaction in, and Alertness at Arms, while the Streets and Windows were crowded with Spectators of the unusual Scene, the following Declarations were read amidst some Huzzas, which however well understood by the greatest Number of the Bystanders, sure I am, the fortieth Man of the Guard did not know a single Sentence of them.

* This Man's Father had been in the Rebellion
1715.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Declaration.

JAMES R.

JAMES VIII. by the Grace of GOD,
King of Scotland, England, France, and
Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all
Our loving Subjects of what Degree or Qua-
lity soever, Greeting.

Having always born the most constant
Affection to Our ancient Kingdom of Scot-
land, from whence we derive our Royal
Origin, and where Our Progenitors have
swayed the Sceptre with Glory, through a
longer Succession of Kings than any Monar-
chy upon Earth can at this Day boast of,
We cannot but behold, with the deepest
Concern, the Miseries they suffer under a
foreign Usurpation, and the intolerable Bur-
dens daily added to their Yoke, which be-
come yet more sensible to Us, when we
consider the constant Zeal and Affection the
Generality of Our Subjects of that Our an-
cient Kingdom have expressed for us on all
Occasions, and particularly when We had
the Satisfaction of being Ourselves among
them.

We see a Nation always famous for Va-
lour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of
foreign Potentates, reduced to the Condition
of a Province, under the specious Pretence

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of an Union with a more powerful Neighbour. In Consequence of this pretended Union, grievous and unprecedented Taxes have been laid on and levied with Severity, in Spight of all the Representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that Poverty and Decay of Trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary Consequences of such oppressive Measures.

To prevent the just Resentment which could not but arise from such Usage, Our faithful *Highlanders*, a People always trained up and inured to Arms, have been deprived of them: Forts and Citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign Invasion could be apprehended, and a Military Government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered Country. It is easy to foresee what must be the Consequences of such violent and unprecedented Proceedings, if a timely Remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a Remedy can ever be obtained, but by Our Restoration to the Throne of Our Ancestors, into whose Royal Hearts such destructive Maxims could never find Admittance.

We think it needless to call to Mind how solicitous We have ever been, and how often We have ventured Our Royal Person, to compass this great End, which the divine
Provi-

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Providence seems now to have furnished Us with the Means of doing effectually, by enabling Our good Subjects in *England* to shake off the Yoke under which they have likewise felt their Share of the common Calamities. Our former Experience leaves Us no Room to doubt of the chearful and hearty Concurrence of Our *Scots* Subjects on this Occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious Work: But that none may be deterred, by the Memory of past Miscarriages, from returning to their Duty, and being restored to the Happiness they formerly enjoyed, We, in this publick Manner, think fit to make known Our gracious Intentions towards all our People.

We do therefore, by this Our Royal Declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all Treasons, and other Crimes hitherto committed against Our Royal Father or Ourselves: From the Benefit of which Pardon We except none, but such as shall, after the Publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose Us, or those who shall appear, or endeavour to appear, in Arms for our Service.

We farther declare, That We will, with all convenient Speed, call a free Parliament, That, by the Advice and Assistance of such an Assembly, we may be enabled to repair the Breaches caused by so long an Usurpation,

tion, to redress all Grievances, and to free our People from the unsupportable Burden of the Malt-Tax, and all other Hardships and Impositions which have been the Consequences of the pretended Union, that to the Nation may be restored to that Honour, Liberty, and Independency, which it formerly enjoyed.

We likewise promise, upon Our Royal Word, to protect, secure, and maintain all Our Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, and in the full Enjoyment of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, and in the secure Possession of all Churches, Universities, Colleges, and Schools, conform to the Laws of the Land.

All this We shall be ready to confirm in our first Parliament, in which we promise to pass any Act or Acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private Person in the full Possession of his Liberty and Property, to advance Trade, to relieve the Poor, and establish the general Welfare and Tranquillity of the Nation: In all such Matters We are fully resolved to act always by the Advice of our Parliament, and to value none of Our Titles so much, as that of *Common Father of our People*, which We shall ever shew Ourselves to be, by our constant Endeavours to promote the Quiet and Happiness of all Our Subjects. And we shall be particularly solicitous to settle, encourage, and

and maintain the Fishery and Linen-Manufactory of the Nation, which We are sensible may be of such Advantage to it, and which, We hope, are Works reserved for Us to accomplish.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the Recovery of Our just Rights, and the Prosperity of their Country, we shall take effectual Care to reward them according to their respective Degrees and Merits. And We particularly promise, as aforesaid, Our full, free, and general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea or Land, provided that, upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty: In which Case We shall pay them all the Arrears that shall be at that Time due to them from the Usurper: We shall grant to the Officers the same Commissions they shall then bear, if not higher; and to all Soldiers and Sailors a Gratification of a whole Year's Pay, for their Forwardness in promoting our Service.

We farther promise and declare, That the Vassals of such as shall, without Regard to Our present Declaration, obstinately persist in their Rebellion, and thereby forfeit all

Pretensions to Our Royal Clemency, shall be delivered from all Servitude they were formerly bound to, and shall have Grants and Charters of their Lands to be held immediately of the Crown, provided they, upon the Publication of this Our Declaration, declare openly for Us, and join heartily in the Cause of their Country.

And having thus declared Our gracious Intentions to Our loving Subjects, We do hereby require and command them to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of Our Rights, and of their own Liberties: And that all Our Subjects, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do, upon the setting up of Our Royal Standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective Shires; and also to seize the Horses and Arms of all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our Forces.

We also strictly command all Receivers, Collectors, or other Persons, who may be seized of any Sum or Sums of Money levied in the Name, or for the Use of the Usurper, to retain such Sum or Sums of Money in their own Hands, till they can pay them to some Person of Distinction appearing publicly for Us, and demanding the same for Our Use and Service, whose Receipt or Receipts

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ceipts shall be a sufficient Discharge for all such Collectors, Receivers, or other Persons, their Heirs, &c.

Lastly, We do hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires, Stewards of Stewartries, and their respective Deputies, Magistrates of Royal Boroughs, and Bailies of Regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this Our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Towns and Boroughs, and there to proclaim Us, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for their Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty.

Given at Our Court at Rome, the 23d Day of December 1743, the Forty-third Year of Our Reign.

J. R.

JAMES R.

WHereas We have a near Prospect of being restored to the Throne of Our Ancestors, by the good Inclinations of Our Subjects towards Us; and whereas, on Account of the present Situation of this Country, it will be absolutely impossible for Us to be in Person at the first Setting up of Our Royal Standard, and even some Time after; We therefore esteem it for Our Service, and the Good of Our Kingdoms and Dominions, to nominate and appoint, as We hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint,

D 6

Our

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Our dearest Son CHARLES Prince of *Wales*, to be sole Regent of Our Kingdoms of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and of all other Our Dominions during our Absence. It is our Will and Intention, That Our said dearest Son should enjoy and exercise all that Power and Authority, which, according to the ancient Constitution of Our Kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former Regents. Requiring all Our faithful Subjects to give all due Submission and Obedience to Our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing Our Royal Person, and acting by Our Authority. And We do hereby revoke all Commissions of Regency granted to any Person or Persons whatsoever. And, *lastly*, We hereby dispense with all Formalities, and other Omissions that may be herein contained, declaring this Our Commission to be as firm and valid, to all Intents and Purposes, as if it had passed Our Great Seals, and as if it were according to the usual Stile and Forms. Given under Our Sign Manual and Privy Signet, at Our Court at *Rome*, the 23d Day of *December* 1743, in the Forty-third Year of Our Reign.

J. R. (L. S.)

CHARLES, P. R.

BY Virtue and Authority of the above Commission of Regency, granted unto Us by the King Our Royal Father, We are
now

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now come to execute His Majesty's Will and Pleasure, by setting up his Royal Standard, and asserting his undoubted Right to the Throne of his Ancestors.

We do therefore, in His Majesty's Name, and pursuant to the Tenor of His several Declarations, hereby grant a free, full and general Pardon for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed at any Time before the Publication hereof, against Our Royal Grandfather, His present Majesty, and Ourselves. To the Benefit of this Pardon We shall deem justly intitled all such of His Majesty's Subjects, as shall testify their Willingness to accept of it, either by joining our Forces with all convenient Diligence, by setting up his Royal Standard in other Places, by repairing for Our Service to any Place where it shall be set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all Allegiance to the Usurper, and all Obedience to His Orders; or to those of any Person or Persons commissioned or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the Recovery of His Majesty's just Rights, and the Prosperity of their Country, We shall take effectual Care to have them rewarded according to their respective Degrees and Merits; and We particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general Pardon to all Officers, Soldiers, and Sailors,

Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, provided that, upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against His Majesty's Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty; since they cannot but be sensible, that no Engagements, entered into with a foreign Usurper, can dispense with the Allegiance they owe to their natural Sovereign. And as a farther Encouragement to them to comply with their Duty and Our Commands, We promise to every such Officer, the same, or a higher Post in Our Service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full Payment of whatever Arrears may be due to him at the Time of his declaring for Us, and to every Soldier, Trooper, and Dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every Seaman and Mariner of the Fleet, who shall declare for and serve Us, all their Arrears, and a whole Year's Pay to be given to each of them as a Gratuity, as soon as ever the Kingdoms shall be in a State of Tranquillity.

We do hereby farther promise and declare, in his Majesty's Name, and by Virtue of the abovesaid Commission, That, as soon as ever that happy State is obtained, he will, by and with the Advice of a free Parliament, wherein no Corruption, nor undue Influence whatsoever, shall be used to bias the Votes of the Electors, or Elected, settle, confirm, and secure

secure all the Rights, Ecclesiastical and Civil, of each of His respective Kingdoms; His Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the Church of *England* as by Law established, and likewise the Protestant Churches of *Scotland* and *Ireland* conformable to the Laws of each respective Kingdom, together with a Toleration to all Protestant Dissenters; he being utterly averse to all Persecution and Oppression whatsoever, particularly on Account of Conscience and Religion. And We Ourselves, being perfectly convinced of the Reasonableness and Equity of the same Principles, do, in Consequence hereof, farther promise and declare, That all His Majesty's Subjects shall be, by Him and Us, maintained in the full Enjoyment and Possession of all their Rights, Privileges, and Immunities, and especially of all Churches, Universities, Colleges, and Schools, conformable to the Laws of the Land, which shall ever be the unalterable Rule of His Majesty's Government, and Our own Actions.

And, that this Our Undertaking may be accompanied with as little present Inconveniency as possible to the King's Subjects, We do hereby authorise and require all Civil Officers and Magistrates, now in Place and Office, to continue, till farther Orders, to execute their respective Employments in Our Name and by Our Authority, as far as may be requisite for the Maintenance
of

of common Justice, Order and Quiet; willing and requiring them, at the same Time, to give strict Obedience to such Orders and Directions as may from Time to Time be issued out by Us, or those who shall be vested with any Share of Our Authority and Power.

We also command and require all Officers of the Revenue, Customs and Excise, all Tax-Gatherers of what Denomination soever, and all others who may have any Part of the Publick Money in their Hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal Commander authorised by Us, and take his Receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient Discharge; and, in Case of Refusal, We authorise and charge all such Our Commanders to exact the same for Our Use, and to be accountable for it to Us, or Our Officers for that Purpose appointed.

And having thus sincerely, and in the Presence of Almighty God, declared the true Sentiments and Intentions of the King Our Royal Father, as well as Our own, in this Expedition, we do hereby require and command all His loving Subjects to be assisting to Us in the Recovery of His just Rights, and of their own Liberties: And that all such, from the Age of Sixteen to Sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's Royal Standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective Shires for his Service: And also seize the Horses and Arms of
all

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all suspected Persons, and all Ammunition, Forage, and all whatever else may be necessary for the Use of Our Forces.

Lastly, We do hereby require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and other Magistrates of what Denomination soever, their respective Deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this Our Declaration at the Market-Crosses of their respective Cities, Towns, and Boroughs, and there to proclaim His MAJESTY, under the Penalty of being proceeded against according to Law, for the Neglect of so necessary and important a Duty. For as We have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general Pardon for all that is passed, so We, at the same Time, seriously warn all His Majesty's Subjects, That We shall leave to the Rigour of the Law, all those who shall from henceforth oppose Us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any Act or Acts, Civil or Military, to the Lett or Detriment of Us, Our Cause or Title, or to the Destruction, Prejudice, or Annoyance of those, who shall, according to their Duty and Our Intentions thus publickly signified, declare and act for Us.

Given at Paris, the 16th May 1745.

C. P. R.

Whether

Whether the Manifestoes as they stand, were penned at *Rome*, or not, is immaterial, nor can it be known; but that they were printed at *Edinburgh* does not seem incredible; for its certain, that a small Peice in *Ottavo*, called a Letter, containing the same Things with his Declarations, and privately handed about in *June* before, was printed upon the same Type, as was likewise the Proclamation, setting 30,000 *l.* upon the Head of King *George*; which last was dated from a Place where there are neither Types nor Inhabitants. And I have been credibly informed, that one *Drummond* was the Person, in whose Printing-Office, and under whose Eye, the Whole was wrought off.

2do. It is evident, that the Fomentors of this Rebellion were deeply in the Interest of the House of *Bourbon*, whose Maxim is *divide & impera, divide and govern*; for the Union of the Crowns of *Scotland* and *England*, is not only the Terror of the natural Enemies of *Great Britain*, but even the very Source of Liberty to the different States of *Europe*. In a Word, the Union of the Crowns is the Defence of the Protestant Religion against *Rome*, and of Trade and Commerce against the ambitious Views of those who aspire at universal Monarchy.

3tio. As to grievous and unprecedented Taxes, the Pretender is not a little mistaken; for there is not a Merchant in *Britain*, acquainted

acquainted with Commerce, but very willingly pays any Sum that is laid upon Goods by the Government : By whose Armaments and Navy, they are enabled to trade to the distant Parts of the World. Sure I am, the *Camerons* and *Mc Donalds*, cannot in Justice complain, since by a Difference of Habit, Religion, Language, and Way of Living, they are not so much estranged, as by Nature separated from the Bulk of the Islands of *Britain* and *Ireland*.

4to. The depriving the Clans of Arms, is a Conduct supported by that of the Six *Jameses*, who hurt them more in one Reign, than this Government have since 1688 ; from which Period neither Islander nor Highlander, have been stript of an Acre of Land : But whether is it more gentle to disarm them, or allow them to murder each other ? As on the 15th of *July* 1544, when the *Mc Donalds* and *Frasers* fought almost to the Extirpation of either Party, there remaining but seven of the former, and two of the latter desperately wounded ; whether more gentle to disarm them, or, like King *James* I. hang three hundred of them in Chains ?

5to. His Profession of pulling down “ Forts. “ and Citadels in the Highlands, where no “ foreign Invasion could be apprehended,” is but a poor Bait, since the Troops garrisoned there, not only circulate vast Sums of Money

Money among them, but initiate their Children in the *English* Tongue, and the Principles of Trade and Commerce: Add to all this, that his Son's Expedition contradicts one Part of his Assertion: Strange that the Road made at such vast Expence by the Government *Anno* 1728, is not called a Nufance! And that the King's Donation of 1000 *l.* to propagate the Protestant Religion among them, is not also complain'd of!

6to. As to the Malt-Tax, the Rebels have nothing to say, there being little thereof among them: They are supplied with *Usquebaugh*, i. e. *Aqua Vitæ*, from the Northern Counties, and are as immoderately fond of it, as Nature has been sparing in giving it to them: Add to this, that few or no Officers reside among them.

7mo. His promising to maintain his Protestant Subjects in the free Exercise of their Religion, conform to the Laws of the Land; must be understood, not the Laws since *the Usurpation*, but those of *his Royal Father*, who sent a Popish Army to root out the Professors of the establish'd Religion of the Church of *Scotland*, "with all the
" Rigour of his Laws, and the most vigorous Prosecution of his Forces." And no doubt, the freeing *Britain*, particularly *Scotland*, from Imposition, is to restore it to its ancient State under the *Jameses*, when they were regarded by the greatest of foreign Potentates,

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tentates, namely, the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, whose Subjects eased them of the Trouble of Commerce, gave them Wines and Cambricks in Return for their black Cattle, their Barley and Oats, and by their artful Behaviour, kept 'em so tractable, as that all from the Age of Sixty to Sixteen, would, for a small Sum, march as the Court of *Ver-sailles* directed.

8^{va}. The promising of Pardon to Soldiers and Sailors, provided they would violate their Allegiance, and come over to him, clearly proves, that he thought the popish Maxim just, *to keep no Faith with Hereticks*. For has he not said, that no Engagements, yea, Oaths entred into with a “ foreign U-
“ surper, could dispense with the Obliga-
“ tions they ow'd their natural Sovereign?” I have been frequently informed, that the old Pretender is a Gentleman of the finest Accomplishments, and that he draws up a Paper extreamly well, which I should not scruple to believe, if he had not discovered a Mind insensible of the most apparent Affronts from the Court of *France* and her General Officers; an Instance of which I shall give.

One Day, *Anno* 1710, the Duke de *Vil-lars*, a Marshal of the *French* Armies, had an Interview with the late King of *Sweden*, then Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, Commander in Chief of his Father's Forces, and a General in

in the *Dutch* Service: After some mutual Compliments, with an Air becoming so great a Man, the lively *Villars* introduced the Marshals *de Berwick*, and *de Montesquiou*, the *Bavarian* General, Count *d'Arco*, with the Duke of *Bourbon*,—and at last the Pretender; on presenting of him, he said, this is the *Chevalier de St. George*, adding, with a Smile, you know well enough, Sir, who he is! His Highness shifted his Eye from the General to the unfortunate Tool, but did not receive him. *M. de Quincey*, in his military History of *Lewis XIV.* speaks highly of his Courage and Conduct at the Battle of *Malplaquet*, Sept. 11, 1709, where he was wounded in the Arm, having fought as a Volunteer among the Troops, whom, the illustrious *John* Duke of *Argyle* attacked with a Bravery, which if equalled, yet can never be out-done.

9no. What is said of the Pretender may be true, but sure this Paper is no great Proof of his rare Abilities; for the Paper either must be his, or else his Son's Council have used Freedom with his Name; for to say no more, can a Man in his Senses be supposed to court a Throne with such Methods as these to accuse *England*, the major, of oppressing *Scotland* the minor Part! But the best Observations upon them, and some others contained in this Book, are to be had
in

Book I. REBELLION. 71

in the Resolutions of Parliament, Nov. 7, 1745, the Tenor whereof follows.

Resolved,

“ By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
“ and Commons in Parliament assembled,
“ that the two Papers respectively signed
“ *James R.* and dated at *Rome* the 23d Day
“ of *December* 1743, and the four printed
“ Papers, signed *Charles P. R.* dated re-
“ spectively the 16th Day of *May* 1745, *Aug-*
“ *ust* 22d 1745, the 9th Day of *October*
“ 1745, and the 10th Day of *October* 1745,
“ are false, scandalous and traitorous Libels,
“ intended to poison the Minds of his Majes-
“ ty’s Subjects; containing the most malici-
“ ous, audacious and wicked Incitements to
“ them to commit the most abominable Trea-
“ sons; groundless and infamous Calumnies
“ and Indignities against the Government,
“ Crown, and sacred Person of his most ex-
“ cellent Majesty King *George II.* our only
“ rightful and undoubted Sovereign; and
“ seditious and presumptuous Declarations a-
“ gainst the Constitution of this united King-
“ dom; representing the high Court of Par-
“ liament, now legally assembled by his Ma-
“ jesty’s Authority, as an unlawful Assem-
“ bly; and all the Acts of Parliament, passed
“ since the late happy Revolution, as null
“ and void; and that the said printed Papers
“ are

“ are full of the utmost Arrogance and insol-
 “ lent Affronts to the Honour of the *British*
 “ Nation, in supposing that his Majesty’s
 “ Subjects are capable of being imposed up-
 “ on, seduced or terrified, by false and op-
 “ probrious Invectives, insidious Promises,
 “ or vain and impotent Menaces; or of be-
 “ ing deluded to exchange the free Enjoy-
 “ ment of their Rights and Liberties, as well
 “ civil as religious, under the well established
 “ Government of a Protestant Prince, for
 “ Popery and Slavery under a Popish bigot-
 “ ted Pretender, long since excluded by the
 “ wisest Laws made to secure our excellent
 “ Constitution, and abjured by the most so-
 “ lemn Oaths.

Resolved,

“ By the Lords Spiritual and Temporal,
 “ and Commons in Parliament assembled,
 “ that, in Abhorrence and Detestation of
 “ such vile and treasonable Practices, the
 “ said several printed Papers be burnt by the
 “ Hands of the common Hangman, at the
 “ *Royal-Exchange* in *London*, on *Tuesday* the
 “ 12th Day of this instant *November*, at one
 “ of the Clock in the Afternoon; and that
 “ the Sheriffs of *London* do then attend,
 “ and cause the same to be burnt there ac-
 “ cordingly.” Which Orders were punctual-
 ly obeyed, amidst the repeated Acclamations
 of a prodigious Multitude.

These

Book II. REBELLION. 73

These Manifestoes being read, which made known the Intentions of the Adventurer, his next Step was to concert what was proper to be done for the Subsistence and Augmentation of his Army, the Result of which was to send a Paper to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, superscribed *Charles P. R.* and subscribed *C. P. R.* requiring, on Pain of military Execution, 1000 Tents, 2000 Targets, 6000 Pair of Shoes, and a proportional Number of white Iron Water Cantines against the 23d. The Deacons met immediately with their several Incorporations, and took a Note of what each could furnish of the several Articles. On the 24th, a Report was made by these to the general Meeting, who laid 2 s. 6 d. on every twenty Shillings of real Rent for Payment of them.

Next Day, an Order was read over the Cross, " requiring all the Inhabitants of the " City and Suburbs, and of the County of " *Mid-Lothian*, to give up at their own " Expence, the whole Arms and Ammunition in their Custody, under Pain of being deemed Rebels, and treated as such." This Order was in a great Measure complied with, several Stand of Arms were taken up from different Quarters, but some of the Muskets upon Trial, partly thro' the Unskilfulness of the User, partly thro' the bad

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Condi-

Condition of the Piece, which perhaps had not been loaded for twenty or thirty Years before, wounded those who were near them, while others prov'd fatal to themselves.

That very Day, *Sept. 18.* a Drum beat up for Soldiers thro' the City, in the Pretender's Name; a Captain's Commission was proffered to him who could raise Forty, and a Lieutenancy to him who could bring Twenty Men into the Field. This Encouragement had its Effect also; for many raw and unexperienced young Men, of no Fortunes or Prospect, had Commissions given them, but there was not a proportional Number of private Men, since all, except the Clans, who live in an abject Slavery to their Chieftains, hop'd to be advanced to the highest Preferment as a Reward of their Services.

But among the many Advantages reapt from getting Possession of the City of *Edinburgh*, that of mastering the Printing-offices was not the least; and of the two News Papers published three Times a Week, the *Caledonian Mercury*, then under the Direction of *James Grant*, a Roman, was moulded to the Mind of the Adventurer; whose Progress hitherto was inserted; whose Virtues were represented in the most striking Light, by setting down the Letters of the Duke of *Berwick*, from the Trenches of *Gaeta* in 1732,
about

about him, and by comparing him to *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, with this Difference, that the *Italian* had so far the better of the *Swede*, as to reduce the Knowledge of War into an Art: When the King's Speech came out, though as fine a one as ever came from a Throne, it was commented on, and called *The Elector of Hanover's Speech to his pretended Parliament*; and when News was barren, the ill digested and false Memoirs of *Graham of Claverhouse*, who so frequently destroyed the Covenanters in the Reign of *Charles II.* was inserted in order to animate the Clans with a Review of the Exploits of their Ancestors.

But while the Chevalier was at *Holyrood-House*, augmenting his Forces, now much stronger than at *Corryerrog*, his Numbers being almost double, and such as he had with him there, now in high Spirits, every Way fresh and vigorous, from the Plenty of good wholesome Food with which they were supplied, the good clean Cloaths and Beds with which they were accommodated, and the fine Arms with which they were furnished, *Cope* was at *Dunbar* joined by the Volunteers of the City of *Edinburgh*, and by two Regiments of Dragoons under Brigadier *Fowkes*, who had come from *England* to command them.

The Earl of *Hume*, Lords *Belhaven*, Justice Clerk, and *Drummore*, did all in their

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Power to render his Expedition agreeable, not only by furnishing Plenty of all the Necessaries of Life, but by procuring Intelligence of the Enemies Motions, which he had hitherto almost despised. Several Gentlemen waited on him, and being affected in their private Properties, and touched at the unhappy State of the Metropolis of the Nation, whose Colleges and Parliament House were turned into Houses of Necessity, whose Streets were filled with the *Mac Gregors*, *Mac Donalds*, and *Camerons* under *Lochiel*, then Governor of the Town, pressed his marching forward to attack them, in Opposition to the Opinion of Colonel *Gardner* and some others, who knew the Nature of the Clans, and were very sensible of the great Advantages they had obtained. In a Council of War, held on the *Wednesday* Night, *Cope* was brought into *Gardner's* Opinion, but next Morning, through the repeated Importunities of the Clergy, one of whom, Mr. *Webster*, a Minister of *Edinburgh*, wrote to Colonel *Gardner* " that the Enemy were 4000 " strong, and if not fallen upon next Day, " the 20th, they would be joined by more, " from the North," he altered his Mind.

The Attack being resolved on, the Army began to march to *Haddington*, on the *Thursday* Morning, the very Day that 350 of the *Grants* of *Glenmariston* joined the Chevalier; the
Country

Country People, who to a Man in that Part of the Kingdom are extreamly well affected to the Government, with an inexpressible Alacrity, legible in their Looks and Gestures, supplied them with Carriages for their Baggage, and every other Thing in their Power; but either from a Tenderness to alleviate the Burden by communicating it to many, or to put an Hardship upon the innocent Objects of his Hate, *Cope* caused them to yoke twice more Horses than were needful, without the least Gratitude. That Night they arrived and encamped at *Haddington*; and next Morning proceeded Westward to meet the Enemy, now on their March. About 11 o'Clock, they came upon a Corn-Field, to the West of *Seaton*, having a Ditch in Front, whence two Parks, divided by an high Dyke, sloped upwards, the Sea and *Cockeny* on their Flank; a Park Dyke on their Right, at the End of which, there were Roads lying East and West, one of about forty Feet broad between the South End and Colonel *Gardner's* House of *Banktown*, and the other of the same Breadth, between the North End and *Preston-Pans*.

The Advantage of encamping upon a Ground enclosed on every Side, except from the East, made them forego a much greater, and was the unhappy Cause of their not advancing to the Bridge of *Fishera*, opposite

to *Musselburgh*, which the Enemy were obliged to pass, and from whence two Pieces of Cannon, well mounted, might have put the Whole of their Corps into Confusion.

Having pitched near *Preston-Pans*, nothing was wanting either for the Convenience of Men or Horses. The Gentlemen supplied the Officers with Delicacies, and the private Men with every proper Refreshment, while the People joined to send them Tons of *Scots Beer* and Spirits, and while Workmen flocked in to enter upon the most difficult Tasks, upon the first Orders. Being in this Situation, and having dined very plentifully, about Two o'Clock, they saw the Enemy extending themselves along the Brow of *Carberry Hill*, whence they marched from *Edinburgh* by the Way of *Inveresk*, having the Adventurer at their Head, and a few of their Piquet before them.

Both Parties raised an *Huzzza*, but that of the Royalists, particularly the Dragoons, was much louder than that of the Enemy; for tho' they had raised a Shout, when the Pretender, about Four in the Morning, appeared at their Head, and presented his Sword, and said, *I have flung away the Scabbard*; yet a Sort of *Pannick* was visible in the private Men, from their Observation of the Coldness of the Country People toward

toward them, and from a Consciousness of the doubtful Fortune of War.

In this Situation both Armies continued, in View of each other and of an infinite Number of Spectators, among whom I was one, who stood at a small Distance impatiently waiting the Event, which seem'd to be just on the Point of being determined, about Four, when the Royalists rais'd some *Huzza's*, that were not answered, and discharged some Cannon at a Party who had entered the Church-yard of *Tranent*; where a Bullet broke the Arm of one, at which the Whole fled to the Main Body in the utmost Confusion.

Now Expectation play'd fiercely in every Eye; and continued so to do till about Five, when the Enemy from their Motions seem'd as if they designed to attack, but in Reality it was only a Feint to amuse. They were advancing Westward, close by the Upper Dyke of the two Parks, with an Intent as it seem'd to double that Inclosure, and take the Troops in Flank: Now was the Time for the Dragoons to ride through the Passages, and the Foot to cross through the Park whence their Small Arms might play with the best Success, without fear of being charged Sword in Hand: But in Place of this, the Lines only wheel'd to receive them. For some Time the Enemy halted

in this Posture, when a Council of War was held among their Leaders, and that more publickly than Conferences of that Nature generally are. Some, whose Courage was beyond their Experience, were for advancing directly, urging that the Highlanders at *Gillycranky*, Anno 1689, had fallen on about the Twilight; several went into this Opinion, till *Sullivan* interferred and told them that there was a great Difference between the Dragoons then and now, that these Dragoons from their Disposition and fixed Posture during the Huzza's, appeared to him not so raw and unexperienced as had been given out, and that if any Encounter should happen that Night, he was afraid the Horses would ride through them, "but, if we attack them," continued he, about the Beginning of the Morning Dawn, the Spirits of the private Men, like the Mercury in the Thermometer, will have subsided, and the Horses will reel upon the very Snap of a Pistol:" His Sentiments prevailed, the private Men became confident of Victory, and so they withdrew to the former Ground fronting the Royalists.

Night now coming on, both Sides lay upon their Arms, but their Conduct was different, for while the Adventurers kept a Night of Silence, and of Darknefs, except from one Lanthorn, which like a Meteor
blaz'd

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blaz'd a little and soon disappeared, the Royalists had Fires at proper Distances burning so clear that the Enemy could see every flying Party among them; they continued in Jollity and Mirth to exhaust those Spirits which were so necessary for them in the Hour of Action; while some Cohorns being thrown at the Enemy, but not answered, almost convinced them that these were gone, but how sudden was their Surprise in the Morning?

For about three o'Clock, being exactly informed of the Geography of the Country, some crossing through the Inclosures, and others fetching a Compass about the Hill of *Tranent*, in two Hours Time joined below *Seaton-House*, the Place agreed on; here they formed under the Eye of the Adventurer, who address'd them thus, *Follow me, Gentlemen, by the Assistance of God I will this Day make you a free and happy People.* On uttering these Words *Lochiel* advised him to retire with a small Party to the rising Ground Southwest of *Seaton*, that he might be a Spectator of the Scenes of the Day. This being followed, they advanced with their Right Wing, consisting of the *Mac Donalds* of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Claranald* and *Glenco*, commanded by *Perib*, Lieutenant-General; the Left, composed of the *Camerons*, *Stuarts* of *Aspin*, one Body of the

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Mac Gregors, with *Glencairneg* under Lord *George Murray*; their Second Line made up of the *Atkole Men*, *Robertsons*, *Mac Lauchlans*, and another Party of the *Mac Gregours* with Major *James Stuart*, *Perth's* Gentleman, at their Head, under Lord *Nairn*, while their Horse, about 100, and these very unfit for Service, and a few Servants, stood upon their former Ground as a Body of Reserve, though in reality only to deceive the Royalists by concealing from them the March of their own Men.

The first Line having got a Sight of *Cope's* Army, crawled upon their Knees like Hunters in Quest of their Prey, and were looked upon by the Centries as a Hedge appearing by means of the Dawn; these upon seeing their Error, abandoned their Post without firing a Musket, and carried a Consternation along, while the other Line were coming up in form of a Wedge toward the Artillery, which being ill guarded, upon the firing of two Shots soon fell into their Hands. It was now that the Body of the Army had the first general View of them, and though they had been forbade to fire on any Account whatever, till the Enemy were near, yet for their own Preservation they let fly some Platoons, but without much Success, as the Highlanders advanced to the very Muzzle of their Guns
in

in a declining Posture Sword in Hand, covering their Heads and Breasts with their Targets : Here they raised a loud Huzza, fired full in their Faces, and throwing away their Firelocks, rushed furiously on the raw Men Sword and Pistol in Hand : The Flight began in an Instant, for the young Horses on the Wings, *viz.* *Gardner's* on the Right, and *Hamilton's* on the Left, affrighted with the Noise in the Morning, fell a Capering, fled off all at once, and disordered the Foot, now undergoing the most dreadful Havock, and flying to every Part for their Safety, the Enemy pursuing, though very irregularly, and discharging Pistols at them ; and could a single well disciplin'd Regiment have drawn up to give them a Fire, while in this Disorder, the Victory, as at the great Battle between *Harold* and *William the Conqueror* in *Suffex*, might soon have been snatch'd from their Hands, or a single Troop of regular Horse, if falling in upon them, might have destroy'd them past Remedy, since some Horses, even after their Riders were dismounted, ran through the Thickest of them toward *Dunbar*, whether *Fowkes* and *Lafcelles* retreated through the Sands to *Aberlady*; the Horses were taken up by the Country People, and by Order of the Justice Clerk, then in Mr. *Dickson* the Minister's House, were taken Care of, and cured of the Wounds

they had received in the Back, and Thighs from the Swords of the Enemy.

The Rout being Total, a terrible Carnage ensued, some threw down their Arms and begged for Quarters upon their Knees which was refused them: Those who fled into the Inclosures were murdered as climbing for their Lives, while such as escaped were overtaken and cut in the most inhuman Manner, by broad Swords and *Lochaber* Axes. This being observed by *Perib*, he gave a Signal to *Lockiel* to stop the Impetuosity of his Men, which was done, while he himself after dispatching his Gentleman for that Purpose, mounted a fine Bay Mare, which had won the King's Plate at *Leith* some Years before, and taking a Major of the Royalists along with him, rode like an Arrow swiftly through the Field and saved Numbers; his Gentleman did the same, an Instance of which I shall give; Major *Bowles*, of *Hamilton's* Dragoons, being dismounted, the Enemy fell upon and wounded him in Eleven different Places, and just as some inhuman Wretch was fetching a Stroke, which perhaps would have prov'd mortal, Mr. *Stuart* threw up his Sword and awarded the Blow.

All this Time the Earls of *Hume*, *Lowdon*, and some others, were endeavouring to rally the broken Regiments; while *Cope*, at
about

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about half a Mile from the Field, halted and drew up the Dragoons, who by a brisk Return, either on Foot or Horseback, might soon have remedied the Disorder, but either this did not occur at the Time, or the Consternation was so great through the Suddenness of the Onset, that nothing was to be expected from the private Men, so they retired with the Dragoons and a few of the Foot to *Channel Kirk*, where they stopt about Eight in the Morning, then proceeded to *Lauder*, thence to *Berwick*, carrying Consternation and Horror along; the Men blaming the Officers, the Officers reflecting upon one another, while *Cope*, the Source of their Calamity, wished he had died in the Field.

In this Battle 360 of the King's Troops were killed in the Field and in the Pursuit, among whom the pious Col. *James Gardner*, a Gentleman who was afraid to sin, but not afraid to fight; being in the Heat of Youth, turned from the most licentious Dissoluteness to the Prudence, Wisdom and Strictness of the greyest Hairs, universally lamented, as he was against all the Motions that brought on this fatal Scene, and as his House which stood hard by the Field, was made an Hospital to the wounded Highlanders and rifled of every Thing valuable that had not been carried off; Mr. *Stuart of Phisgill*, a Captain in *Lascelle's*, Captain's
Brymer

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Brymer and *Rogers* of *Lee's*, *Howel* of *Guises's*, *Capt. Biskop*, and *Ensign Forbes* of *Murray's* Regiments, shared the same Fate. Having mentioned this last Gentleman, I cannot but observe a Circumstance which among many others may show that the Super-Intendency of an all powerful and watchful Providence makes the Advantage which one Party thinks he has obtain'd, turn out to his Detriment and Loss.

The Father of this Youth was one *Lauchlan Forbes* of *Edinglassie*, a Lieutenant-Colonel of a Regiment commanded by General *Gordon* of *Glenbucket*, then on their Way to join the Adventurers; at *Dundee*, News was brought of the Battle, and at *Coupar of Fyfe*, *Lauchlan* heard of the Fate of his Son; upon which he was so struck as to throw up his Commission, and return home with these Words in his Mouth, "Why fight against a Cause for which my Son has died! For I am told, by the highest Authority that *a House divided against itself cannot stand*," several more followed his Example: But besides the killed about 500 were wounded, among whom Lieutenant-Colonel *Whitney* in the Wrist, just as he was advancing to charge the Enemy at the Head of his Troop, who all deserted him but four at the Time he received the Ball; the Remainder were taken Prisoners, with

with 83 Officers, several of whom were wounded, as Major *Bowles* and the Master of *Torphichen*, whose Bodies like that of *Gardner*, were but one continued Gap or Opening; one Scene of Horror! the private Men's Heads being almost cut through, but the greater Number in the back Parts. The Dragoons lost scarcely 50 including killed, wounded and Prisoners, with six horses, one of which was slain under Major *Bowles*, and lay upon the Field where Noses, Arms, Hands and Legs were promiscuously strewed, while the Soldiers Wives and Children, who were absolute Strangers, rented their Breasts with Sighs. On the Side of the Highlanders were killed two Captains, one Lieutenant, and one Ensign, with about 40 private Men: They had 80 wounded, among whom, *Robert Roy*, *M'Gregor's* Son, who then went under the Name of Captain *James Drummond*. All the Cannon, viz. six Pieces, two Cohorns, with *Cope's* Baggage, Tents, and Equipage, fell into their Hands, as did the military Chest, containing only four thousand pounds, the General having secured the rest partly in the *Fox* Man of War, *Haddington*, and elsewhere, which was the only prudent Step he took during this fatal and inglorious Campaign. The Officers (Prisoners) were robbed of their Money and Watches, their Servants were not spared, and some Country-Gentlemen

men and others, tho' not in Arms, were stript even of the Buckles of their Shoes. Having slept at *Musselburgh*, two Miles from the Field, I was alarm'd, and stepping forward, survey'd the Field, which was one Scene of Horrbr, capable of softening the hardest Heart, being strew'd not so much with the Déad as the Wounded; the broken Guns, Halberts, Pikes, and Cantines, shewing the Work of the Day; in my Progress I asked the Soldiers what had become of *Cope*, which none of them knew, tho' all, but especially the *English*, spoke most disrespectfully and bitterly of him: Then turning to the Road-side, I saw the young *Chevalier*, who, by the Advice of *Perth*, had sent to *Edinburgh* for Surgeons; his Horse stood near him, with his Armour of Tin, which resembled a Woman's Stays, affixed to the Saddle; he was on Foot, clad as an ordinary Captain in a coarse Plaid and large blue Bonnet, a scarlet Waistcoat with a narrow plain Gold Lace about it, his Boots and Knees were much dirted (the Effect of having fallen into a Ditch, as I was afterwards told); he was exceeding merry, and twice said, *My Highlandmen have lost their Plaids*; at which he laughed very heartily, being no way affected when speaking of the Dead and Wounded. Nor would his Jollity have been interrupted, if he had not looked upon

upon seven Standards that had been taken from the Dragoons; on which he said in *French* (a Language he frequently spoke in) "We have missed some of them." After this he refreshed himself upon the Field, and with the utmost Composure eat a Piece of cold Beef and drank a Glass of Wine amidst the deep and piercing Groans of the poor Men, who had been wounded in seven or eight places, and had fallen a Sacrifice to his Ambition. Thereafter he rode thro' *Preston* to *Pinky House*, (a Seat belonging to the Marquis of *Twedale*) leaving the Bulk of the Wounded upon the Field till next Day, who were brought upon Carts into *Edinburgh*, where some were put into the Infirmary along with their own, who got the lower, while the poor Men, unable to crawl, were lodg'd in the higher Apartments. Of the former, few recovered; but it was astonishing to see how soon the Soldiers were cured of the inhuman Cuts they had received. Some begg'd thro' the Streets, some having their Hands bandaged, or their Heads ty'd about with a Napkin; while others went about the Country carrying the most shocking Marks of Inhumanity along with them. They were generously supplied by the Citizens and Country People, but by none of the Adventurers, so far as I could observe.

Such

Such was the Battle of *Preston*, in which the Conquerors gave out, that, with 1456 Highland Foot, without Artillery or Horse, they routed a regular Army of 4030 Foot and Horse, besides Volunteers, supported by Cannon, and almost entrenched; and which their Abettors (among whom was *Simon Lord Lovat*) magnified so much as to call it by the Name of "A glorious Victory, not to be paralleled in History." But whoever considers the Boast, will find it was groundless; for when *Cope* marched to the North he had only about 1624 Foot, and at *Preston* it is not to be supposed he had more. Of these, 466 were out on Parties, of which 100 were with the Artillery, 230 with the Baggage, 70 at Colonel *Gardner's* House, and 66 watching at the upper Park-Dyke next to the Enemy; and of the Dragoons 118 were upon the patrol. If this be adverted to, and that young Horses, when fired upon in the Morning, generally reel, it will be found, that 1456 choice Highland Desperadoes, some of whom had been in foreign Armies, did no more than surprize about 1158 raw Foot, who became an easy Prey, being put into Confusion by their own Horse, that were designed to sustain them.

I would not here be understood to detract from the Bravery of the Clans, a Virtue which they carry to such an extreme that

that it degenerates into Madness, but shall only observe, that their Weakness is to magnify every little Advantage into a Prodigy; and from the Account of this Engagement, one may observe, that the first Glimpse of Success puts them into Disorder, and renders them an easy Prey to their Antagonist; and it's certain, that when once they are broke, which must inevitably happen if engaged with Veteran Regiments, all the Generals that ever lived could not make them rally and return again to the Charge.

But the Victory at *Preston* was not more compleat, than its Consequences were advantageous to the Adventurers, who had not only the Arms of the whole Body of Foot, but even of the Volunteers, to put into the Hands of the Recruits, whom the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, and others, were daily sending to their Camp. - Oh! what pity was it to see Men who never had wore a Shirt during their Lives, wearing the Clothes and fine Linnen of the Officers, and exposing to Sale, Gold and Silver-hilted Swords, Watches, and Rings, Down-Beds, and Curtains, while their very Boys wore before them the Cartridge-Boxes of the Murdered Infantry, and Prisoners, which last were confined in the Church and Prison of the *Canongate* till the 29th, when they were transported to *Logie-Rate* in *Athole*, and their Officers, who had been
liberated:

liberated upon Parole, and obliged daily to present themselves, were conducted to *Perth*, where now *Tullebardin* had his Head Quarters, and where, as at *Dunkeld*, he had made the greatest Rejoicings for the Victory lately obtained.

It was now dreaded, by the Friends of the Government, that the Adventurer would have marched directly into *England*, pell mell, with *Cope*, who perhaps would have carried an irrecoverable Surprise to *St. James's* itself, as the Forces were then abroad engaged in a War, on which depended not only the Fate of the *Empire*, but even of all *Europe*: However, his Counsels were infatuated, and like the Giants of old, he fell by his own Weight, *Vis consili expers mole ruit sua*, Force, without Conduct, falls by its own Bulk.

But tho' he was so far blinded, as not to march into *England*, (the only Step to be taken) yet, in some other Things, he made the most of his late Advantage; not only by Force, but the more prevailing Arguments of Address and Persuasion, and that with an Affability which open'd the Mouths of his Friends; for to win the Hearts of the Populace, he admitted all to see him dine, during which Time he frequently said, "if I succeed, *Scotland* shall be my *Hanover*, and the Palace of *Holyroodhouse* my *Heren-
hausen*."

“ *hausen.*” Nor did he during this forced Complaisance, do any thing disobliging, except to the Ladies, who importun’d him for a Ball; to which he answered, “ Ladies, “ there are a great many Balls abiding me, “ at present have me excused, but be sure of “ one after my Return.”

Such a Behaviour, with the vast Encomiums past upon him by these of his own Party, after a Battle won and an Army destroyed, had less Effect in *Scotland*, than I believe it would have had in any one Part of the *British* Monarchy; and let the Fewness of his Followers, notwithstanding his alluring Blandishments, plead the Loyalty of the People, who yet had a further Bait by a Promise of the free Exercise of their Religion; for, on the Night after the Battle, he caus’d it to be intimated to the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, that they were allowed to preach as usual, but not to name King *George*, only in general “ to pray for all Christian Kings;” and, as a further Encouragement, it was given out, that had they complied he himself would have been one of the Audience; but in this he was disappointed, for tho’ he saw himself surrounded for a Time with all the Badges of Royalty governing *Scotland* as he pleas’d, yet he still wanted this Part of Sovereignty; no Clergy whatever openly appeared for him; nor had he the Satisfac-

faction of hearing himself or his Father pray'd for in any Church, or Meeting, during his Abode; tho' his Declaration, "for-
" bidding any outward Demonstrations of
" publick Joy, on Account of the late
" Victory, as it had involved many innocent
" People in the greatest Calamity, and had
" been obtained by the Effusion of the
" Blood of his Majesty's Subjects, admon-
" nishing all true Friends to their King and
" Country to return Thanks to God as he did
" for himself," concluded with a Promise of
Protection to those concerned in publick
Worship. Nor among the whole 950 Mi-
nisters in *Scotland* were any so docile as not to
name King *George* in their Prayers, except
one *Mann*, Minister of *Dunkeld*. He acted
in Complaisance to the Marquis of *Tulle-
bardin*, who every *Sunday* Morning, attended
publick Worship, when the Parson prayed
thus, without mentioning any Names, " Bless
" the KING the PRINCE and the DUKE;"
for this and other Actions of the like Jesuiti-
cal Nature, he was arraigned before the Ju-
dicatures of the Church, where, after a very
long Struggle, merely created from Animosity,
and Party-Faction, which with Simony, Cor-
ruption, and Bribery, scandalously prevail
in that Church's Assemblies, he was only sus-
pended from the Exercise of his Office for
half a Year; the other was *Hogg*, a Lec-
turer

turer at *Edinburgh*, with whom the Chevalier expressed himself so well pleas'd, that he publickly promis'd him a Living if his Scheme should succeed.

But tho' the Ministers of *Edinburgh* did not preach, yet Mr. *McVicar* and Mr. *Pitcairn* of the *West Kirk*, being under Cover of the Castle Guns, thundered away! praying for King *George* and warmly recommending Loyalty to their Hearers, and begging for a better Crown to the Adventurer than that whereof he was in Quest. The former was an *Argyleshire* Highlander, very much of a Gentleman, and really a faithful Minister according to his Knowledge, but, thro' a wrong Turn in his Education, had Charity for no Sect but his own; and he called the Church of *England* "the very Excrements of Popery."

Along with the Declaration mentioned, two others were emitted on the 23d, the first granting "Protection to all Farmers, within
" five Miles of *Edinburgh*, upon their enacting themselves in the Secretary's Office,
" to be ready on twelve Hours Warning to
" furnish their Horses for carrying the Baggage of the Rebels to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*,
" or the like Distance;" the other forbidding Abuses by his Army, and next Day the following Indemnity was proclaimed.

CHARLES

CHARLES, *Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

WHEREAS we are informed, That several of Our Subjects, as well Clergy as Laity, in Our ancient City of *Edinburgh*, and Neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up Arms against us; and that many of them fled from their Houses, lest they had been prosecuted, and made Examples of, as their Crimes demerited.

And whereas we have nothing at Heart but the Good of all Our Subjects, how much soever deluded by the Prejudice of Education or mistaken Interest; and being always disposed, as a true Father of our Country, to display that Mercy and Tenderneſs natural to Us, and the distinguishing Characteriſtick of our Family.

We do therefore, in his Majesty's Name, hereby grant a full Pardon to the Persons associated as aforesaid, for all Treasons, Rebellions, and Offences whatsoever, committed by them at any Time before the Publication of these Presents, whether against Our Royal Grandfather of blessed Memory, his present Majesty, or Ourselves, dispensing with the Generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual, to all Intents and Purposes,

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Purposes, as if all their Names had been herein set down. PROVIDED always, That the Persons aforesaid present themselves within twenty four Days after the Publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved Counsellor *John Murray* of *Broughton*, Esq; Our Secretary, or any one of Our Council appointed for that Purpose, at our Palace of *Holyrood-house*, or where else We shall be for the Time, with a Declaration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable Subjects to Us and Our Government, otherways these Presents to be of no effect to them. Given at Our Palace of *Holyrood-house*, the twenty-fourth Day of *September*, and of his Majesty's Reign the forty fifth Year, 1745.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness's Command, Jo. Murray.

From this Paper we may observe, a very strange Temper to declare People Rebels, for rising up in Defence of a Government under which most of them were born, and some, particularly the Clergy, were solemnly sworn to defend; more might be said, but let us not load the Unfortunate, from whom always proceeded Sallies of the most absolute Measures, in the Midst of that Moderation which they affected to shew. On the 25th, Protection was proffered the Banks if they would return from the Castle to their

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former

former Business; but this Promise was disregarded as the former had been; for of all the Volunteers who had taken Arms in Defence of the City, only three or four complied with this Demand.

There were also Proclamations for preventing Thefts and Robberies, but the hungry Soldiers did not understand them; for under Pretence of searching for Arms, they rifled Peoples Houses, and carried off what was valuable.

On the 30th, every Person, possessed of Arms, Tents, Horses, or warlike Stores, that had escap'd from the Battle of *Preston*, were required, under Pain of Military Execution, to return them; and that same Day, the Magistrates of all Burghs in *Scotland*, the Collectors of the Land-Tax in all the Shires, the Collectors and Comptrollers of the Customs, were ordered, by circular Letters, to repair to the Palace of *Holyrood-House*, to have the Sums pay'd by the respective Towns ascertain'd, and to bring in their Books, with the Money that was due, upon the Pain of being judged Traitors, Rebels, and treated with Military Execution. Some obeyed, while the major Part left the Kingdom, or else repaired to the Castle, leaving their Properties to the Discretion of the Enemy, who, under Colour of seeking the Publick Money, broke open Chests of Drawers,

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ers, Buroes, and other Repositories; carrying off whatever was valuable, while the Goods in the Custom-House of *Leith*, were sold by Auction.

The Demands made upon the Towns in the Country, were extravagant and ill proportioned, and the City of *Glasgow*, so remarkable for the Comeliness of her Situation, the Extensiveness of her Commerce to the most distant Parts of the World, the Credit of her Merchants, the Regularity of her Citizens, and her Loyalty to her Sovereign, were so severely treated, that nothing less than 10,000*l.* was demanded; but the Sum, by Means of *Perth*, who had been frequently there, and became particularly acquainted with some of the principal Merchants, was abated for 5000 Guineas, which was instantly paid down.

Thus partly by one Means, partly by another, the Adventurer enriched his Military Chest, drew Forces to him, and perhaps might have brought more, had not he and his Highlanders attempted a Thing not only impracticable in itself, but which exposed their Rashness to the considerate among the *Scots*, and diffus'd a Surprise throughout *Europe*.



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK III.

CONTENTS.

A Description of the Castle of Edinburgh; the Pretender's second Manifesto; he is joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lords Ogilvy and Pittligo; also by some from France, with whom he sets out for England.

THE Castle of *Edinburgh*, no less famous for its Antiquity of 2082 Years, than for the Strength of its Situation, the Purity of its Air, the Fulness of its Arsenals, and Store of its Magazines; the regular Distribution of its Bastions, and the stately City which it commands, but
cannot

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cannot defend without battering her to Pieces, hitherto judged almost impregnable, was yet invested by the Adventurers, who had no heavy Artillery, no *Chevaux de Frise*, no *Gabions*, yea, were destitute of every Thing proper for carrying on a Siege, or taking a Place by Storm.

All Sort of Fortification, like other Things, has Conveniencies and Inconveniencies. Fortified Places are generally built at the Confluence of Rivers, at a Passage where an Invasion may be apprehended, or upon a Rock for the Defence of an Harbour, a City, or as a Place of Retreat in Case of a general Calamity: Of this last Species is the Fort we are now speaking about; it commands the adjacent Country, and is seen by it for many Miles round; it is built upon a steep Rock, that upon the West and North is about 150 Feet from the Level of the Ground, which is marshy, and could easily be laid under Water: A pretty steep Hill descends from the very Walls of its Rampart, to a low High-way upon the South; and a gradual slope instead of a Glacis runs from the Gate, which is a Draw-bridge, and defended by a large Battery of Cannon, of the largest Bore, upon a Platform behind it, and flanked by two Bastions; from the North to the South runs a dry Moat of about thirty Feet deep, and twelve broad,

almost forming a Semicircle; it has Conveniency for 5000 Men, tho' generally there are not above 500 at once, all distinguished by their own Regimentals: And at this Time there were, besides the usual Garrison, several who fled from *Preston-Pans*, all under the Command of Lieutenant-General *Philip Preston*, an Officer of the greatest Honour, and one who had to an innate Bravery and irresistible Courage, added the Experience of above twenty Campaigns; he was then above eighty Years of Age, but full of Resolution, and determined to hold out to the last Extremity.

This Fort is not much subject to the Disadvantages attending Places built upon Rocks, for the Water Springs within its Cavities, are so covered, that no Storms can annoy them, nor can they be dried up, by the most terrible Cannonadings, or yet the Heat of the Sun: The steaming Vapours arising from the Marshy Ground, that in other Places cause Sickness, here lose their Force, by the Attraction of the Sea Breezes, which rise about a Mile from the North, and the Purity of the Air. The Ramparts are so fenced with Stone, and so strongly lined with Causeways and Pavements, that are continued almost to the *Embrasures* of the Parapet, that Engines, if playing upon them, would only spend their Force against
one

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one continued Solidity. Within are so many Pieces of hard Rock, that Bombs could not affect them, and between these is Pasturage, where a few Cows or Sheep could subsist for a Time: In a Word, this Place, naturally so strong, and of late improv'd with five Bastions and Rounds, may be look'd upon as impregnable. Nor was it ever taken, except by *Thomas Randal* Earl of *Murray*, who got Possession of it, *Anno 1310*, by Treachery, being, with a few, let into it in Disguise: It was surrender'd to *Oliver Cromwel*, *Dec. 14. 1650*; but then it must be considered, that the Generality of the Scots Nation was at that Time devoted to the Protector, so that the Fort was given up not so much from any Terror he bore in his Name, or Straits to which the Garrison were reduced, as from a Consideration of the Advantages that would redound by yielding to his Terms. Add to all this, that he had erected a Battery at *Heriot's-Hospital*, which tho' the Castle Guns could have dismounted, and beat the House to Pieces about his Ears, yet it would have been a Work of Time to rear up so magnificent and so noble a Structure.

The *Chevalier's* first Step towards besieging the Fortress, was to stop People when going from the City toward it; that being observed, some Cannon were discharged at

his Centries on the 25th, which so enraged him, that on the 29th, all Communication betwixt it and the City was formally prohibited. Whereupon Lieutenant-General *Guest*, then Commander of the Forces in *Scotland*, wrote to *Provost Steuart*, " That since the
 " Passage to and from the Castle was shut
 " up, he would make Use of Cannon to
 " dislodge the Highland Guards, having received Orders from Court to keep the
 " Avenues clear:" Some Deputies were sent to the *Chevalier* with the Letter, to which they received the following Reply, wrote by his own Hand.

Gentlemen,

I *Am not a little surprized at the inhumane Orders of the Commanders of the Castle of Edinburgh, and which, they say, they received from the Elector of Hanover. If he look'd upon you as his Subjects, he would never require of you what he knows to be out of your Power to grant. It is impossible to prevent Inconveniencies in Cases of this Nature, but I shall take Care to have all Sufferers indemnify'd, as soon as the publick Tranquility is restored, and in the mean Time, shall make full Reprisals upon the Estates of all those who are Abettors of the German Government.*

C. P. R.

This

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This Answer, which was followed by a second Discharge of all Communication with the Castle, under Pain of Death, being reported, the Generals, out of Compassion to the City, gave a Respite for six Days, till an Express could return from Court. It might have been thought the *Adventurer* would have done the same, but on the contrary, he went in the Twilight *incog*, to the Castle Hill, and gave Directions for fixing a Battery at a broken House near the Foundery, on the North Side, and within an hundred Yards of the Fort. *Locheol* undertook the Siege from that Place, while some who had joined at *Edinburgh*, went to *Livingston's* Yards, to the South West of the Garrison, and within Reach of her great Guns, under the Command of one Captain *Taylor*, a Shoemaker, who bound himself with an Oath, that he should that Night sleep in the Castle; and indeed he was as good as his Word; for a Serjeant and three Men sallied out upon them, set the House wherein they were in Flames, fired into it, killed three, wounded two, and brought off the Captain, with seven Prisoners into the Fort, where they were laid in Irons, while their Comrades were buried in the Trench they had digged.

For three Days there was a Blockade both of the Castle and City, when the

King's Letter came, ordering to spare the Town, but to keep the Passes open, till the Relief which was hastening up should arrive: As the *Adventurers* were at *Holyrood House*, the Packet fell into their Hands, and to be before the Generals, the following Proclamation was issued out, and pasted upon the most publick Places of the Town.

C. P. R.

THE Prince Regent taking into Consideration the many Murders committed upon the innocent Inhabitants of the City of Edinburgh, bas of his innate Clemency, the distinguished Characteristick of his Family, yielded to the Supplications of the Distressed, and considering that Justice ought to give place to Mercy, when the Good of a People require it, he therefore takes the Blockade off the Castle, and commands upon his Part all Hostilities to cease.

Tho' this last Step of the Besiegers was more prudent than those hitherto pursued, yet the Reasons for taking it "on Account
" of the many Murders committed on the
" innocent Inhabitants," is groundless, two of the Town's People, whose Blood lay congeal'd upon the Streets, having only been killed, and one Woman, a Laundress, as she was carrying a large Bundle of wet Linnen, being hurt by a Fall, occasioned by a Shot from

from a Cannon, which struck her Burden off her Back, and scattered it upon the Ground. Nor indeed did the City suffer much in her Buildings: For tho' some Balls grazed upon the Houses, and others struck upon the Streets, yet no Damage was done, except from one Bullet which lighted upon the Causeway, out of which it raised a Stone, and rebounding with a rapid Force, flew to the Distance of about fifty Yards, upon the Cheek of a Shop Door which it carried away, with a Piece of the Timber whereof it was composed.

But tho' the Houses of the Town were spared from the Lenity of the *Generals*, and the Skillfulness of the Engineers, who calculated so exactly the Amplitude of the Ball, and took care to preserve the Engine almost in the same Elevation, yet the broken Houses and Foundery occupied by the Besiegers were beat to Pieces about their Ears, and *Locheol* was hurt by the Fall of a Stone upon his Shoulder, as were five of the private Men; the Western Part of the Weigh-House was likewise beat down, and about a dozen of Bullets were shot into its Door, where they left an exact Mark of their Entrance, but no Rend behind them; the former burnt with great Violence, but the Flames caught no hold of the adjacent Buildings, and tho' sometimes they licked the Roofs, yet they were

by a gentle North East Breeze, driven into another Quarter. Before I close the Account of this infamous Siege, it may not be disagreeable to inform the Reader, that notwithstanding the loud and hoarse Sound of the Guns, which so much amazed the Inhabitants, yet a Smile was sometimes forced from them, on seeing the Soldiers fallying from the Lanes, like the Huntsman in quest of the Partridge, seeking a Sight of his Game with a loaded Piece in his Hand; which was no sooner observed, than directly the others, like Foxes, retired into their Places of Safety; whence they were all obliged at last to retire, with these Words in their Mouths as they passed along, "See an *Hanover* Moon, pointing at the Flames? O that we could get them, meaning the Soldiers, in the open Fields, we should soon make them fly to their Holes again for Shelter."

On *Sunday* Morning the ceasing of the Fire was to the Inhabitants like a Calm after an Hurricane, and a Revival to those who were confined to their Houses for fear of meeting an untimely Fate, after moving their best Effects into the Country; an Encouragement to others who were on their Way to his Camp, but a Discouragement to many who not apprehending any Check, were preparing to engage in his Cause.

October

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October 7th. The Day after the Siege was rais'd, Gordon of Glenbuckett, and Lord Ogilvy, came up with about 400 Men to the Camp, the former had been at Rome, Anno 1707, and an Officer in the Rebellion 1715, which with his being a Roman Catholick, was the single Circumstance to procure any Weight to his Sollicitations; that only prevail'd upon some poor People of desperate Fortunes; the other had more Power, but this he used by threatening with Fire and Sword, the most of those he brought into the Project.

As the Army increased, so there was a further Need for Supply; and next Day Proclamation was made, setting forth, "how acceptable Money, Arms, Horses and Provisions, would be from those who could not personally join." On the 10th, the following Declaration was published also.

CHARLES, *Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Degree soever, Greeting.*

CHARLES, P. R

AS soon as We, conducted by the Providence of GOD, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a Handful of Our Royal Father's Subjects, Our first Care was to make
pub-

publick his most gracious Declaration; and, in Consequence of the large Powers by him vested in Us, in Quality of Regent, We also emitted Our own *Manifesto*, explaining and enlarging the Promises formerly made, according as We came to be better acquainted with the Inclinations of the People of *Scotland*. Now that it has pleased GOD so far to smile on Our Undertaking, as to make Us Master of the ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, We judg'd it proper, in this publick Manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the Hearts of all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Nation or Province soever, with Comfort and Satisfaction.

We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's Name, declare, That his sole Intention is to re-instate all his Subjects in the full Enjoyment of their Religion, Laws, and Liberties; and that Our present Attempt is not undertaken in order to enslave a free People, but to redress and remove the Encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a Religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the Enjoyment of those which are respectively at present established among them, either in *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*; and if it shall be deemed proper that any farther Security be given to the established Church or Clergy, We hereby promise, in his Name,
That

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That he shall pass any Law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that Purpose.

In consequence of the Rectitude of Our Royal Father's Intentions, We must farther declare his Sentiments with regard to the National Debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful Government, Nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy Load upon the Nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest Part due to those very Subjects whom He promises to protect, cherish and defend, He is resolved to take the Advice of His Parliament concerning it, in which He thinks He acts the Part of a just Prince, who makes the Good of His People the sole Rule of His Actions.

Farthermore, We here in his Name declare, That the same Rule laid down for the Funds, shall be followed with respect to every Law or Act of Parliament since the Revolution; and, in so far as, in a free and legal Parliament, they shall be approved, He will confirm them. With respect to the pretended Union of the two Nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since He has had repeated Remonstrances against it from each Kingdom; and since it is incontestable, that the principal Point then in View, was the Exclusion of the Royal Family from their undoubted Right to the Crown, for which Purpose the grossest Corruptions were openly used to
bring

bring it about. But whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint Benefit of both Nations, the King will most readily comply with the Request of His Parliaments to establish.

And now that We have, in His Majesty's Name, given you the most ample Security for your Religion, Properties and Laws, that the Power of a *British* Sovereign can grant; We hereby for Ourselves, as Heir apparent to the Crown, ratify and confirm the same in Our own Name, before Almighty GOD, upon the Faith of a Christian, and the Honour of a Prince.

Let me now expostulate this weighty Matter with you, my Father's Subjects, and let me not omit this first publick Opportunity of awakening your Understandings, and of dispelling that Cloud, which the assiduous Pens of ill-designing Men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the Truth. Do not the Pulpits and Congregations of Clergy, as well as your weekly Papers, ring with the dreadful Threats of Popery, Slavery, Tyranny and arbitrary Power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you, by the formidable Powers of *France* and *Spain*? Is not my royal Father represented as a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, breathing out nothing but Destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious Religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked Truth.

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I, with my own Money, hired a small Vessel, ill provided with Money, Arms or Friends; I arrived in *Scotland*, attended by seven Persons; I publish the King my Father's Declaration, and proclaim his Title, with Pardon in one Hand, and in the other Liberty of Conscience, and the most solemn Promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the Happiness of a People. I have, I confess, the greatest Regard to adore the Goodness of Almighty GOD, who has, in so remarkable a Manner, protected me and my small Army through the many Dangers to which we were at first exposed, and who has led me in the Way to Victory, and to the Capital of this ancient Kingdom, amidst the Acclamations of the King my Father's Subjects: Why then is so much Pains taken to spirit up the Minds of the People against this my Undertaking.

The Reason is obvious, it is, lest the real Sense of the Nation's present Sufferings should blot out the Remembrance of past Misfortunes, and of the Outcries formerly raised against the Royal Family. Whatever Miscarriages might have given Occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the Nation has now an Opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

That

That Our Family has suffered Exile during these Fifty-seven Years, every Body knows. Has the Nation, during that Period of Time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found Reason to love and cherish your Governours, as the Fathers of the People of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*? Has a Family, upon whom a Faction unlawfully bestowed the Diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due Sense of so great a Trust and Favour? Have you found more Humanity and Condescension in those who were not born to a Crown, than in my Royal Forefather's? Have their Ears been open to the Cries of the People? Have they, or do they consider only the Interest of these Nations? Have you reaped any other Benefit from them, than an immense Load of Debts? If I am answered in the Affirmative, Why has their Government been so often railed at in all your publick Assemblies? Why has the Nation been so long crying out in vain for Redress against the Abuses of Parliaments, upon account of their long Duration, the Multitude of *Place-Men*, which occasions their Venality, the Introduction of penal Laws, and, in general, against the miserable Situation of the Kingdom at Home and Abroad? All these, and many more Inconveniencies must now be removed, unless the People of *Great-Britain* be already so far corrupted, that they will not
accept

Book III. REBELLION. 115

accept of Freedom when offered to them; seeing the King, on his Restoration, will refuse nothing that a free Parliament can ask, for the Security of the Religion, Laws and Liberty of his People.

The Fears of the Nation, from the Powers of *France* and *Spain*, appear still more vain and groundless. My Expedition was undertaken unsupported by either: But indeed, when I see a foreign Force brought by my Enemies against me, and when I hear of *Dutch*, *Danes*, *Hessians*, and *Swiss*, the Elector of *Hanover's* Allies, being called over to protect his Government against the King's Subjects, is it not high Time for the King my Father to accept also of the Assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the World, or any one Man of Sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch? Who has the better Chance to be independent on Foreign Powers? He, who with the Aid of his own Subjects, can wrest the Government out of the Hands of an Intruder: Or he, who cannot, without Assistance from abroad, support his Government, tho' established by all the Civil Power, and secured by a strong Military Force, against the undisciplined Part of those he has ruled over so many Years? Let him, if he pleases, try the Experiment, let him
send

send off his foreign Hirelings, and put the whole upon the Issue of a Battle; I will trust only to the King my Father's Subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their Country's Cause: But, notwithstanding all the Opposition he can make, I still trust in the Justice of my Cause, the Valour of my Troops, and the Assistance of the Almighty, to bring my Enterprize to a glorious Issue.

It is now Time to conclude, and I shall do it with this Reflection. Civil Wars are ever attended with Rancour and Ill-will, which Party-Rage never fails to produce in the Minds of those, whom different Interests, Principles or Views, set in Opposition to one another; I therefore earnestly require it of my Friends, to give as little Loose as possible to such Passions; this will prove the most effectual Means to prevent the same in the Enemies of our Royal Cause. And this my Declaration will vindicate to all Posterity the Nobleness of my Undertaking, and the Generosity of my Intentions.

Given at our Palace of *Holyrood-house*, the tenth Day of *October*, One thousand seven hundred and forty five.

C. P. R.

By his Highness's Command, J. Murray.

This Declaration, wrote by the Pretender's own Hand, was looked upon as a Master-Piece

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Piece by his Party; though it is worse than the former, whether one reflects on the Matter it contains, the insidious destructive Promises it is made up of, the Tyranny which it breathes, or Ignorance of the State of the Nation which it discovers; and yet it must be owned, that his expostulating with his "Father's Subjects," is in as moving a Strain, as the Circumstances of the Subject he treats will admit of. Among many Things observable, I shall remark but a few.

1^{mo}. Perhaps by the Inclinations of the People he means the Clergy, who did not as one Man receive him, or the Generals, *Guest* and *Preston*, who did not open the Gates of the Castle to *Locheol*.

2^{do}. As for the National Debt, a Fund has already been appropriated for that very Purpose, and which by prudent Management, and a small Additional Provision of the Legislature, must in a few Years be paid off.

3^{tio}. Who calls his Father "a Blood-thirsty Tyrant, breathing out nothing but Destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious Religion?" None but the Tenets and Practice of the Church of *Rome*, who have prevailed upon Men, otherways extreamly well disposed, to exercise upon such as differed from them, a Cruelty that Atheism, Barbarity, and Savageness itself might be defy'd to go beyond, and

to destroy the Body that the Soul might be saved. Nor does it occur to me to have heard any Minister, either of the established Church of *England*, or *Scotland*, utter the least personal Reflection, further than, that while at *Fetter-ressa*, and *Scoon*, *Anno. 1715*, he would not so much as allow a *Protestant* Minister to say Grace at his Table, much less to preach before him. Parson *Peters* the Priest, must do all! and the Conduct of King *James II.* who granted Liberty of Conscience while he was paving a Way for a Massacre, may serve for an Answer to "the Naked Truth," to which he craves our Attention.

4^{to}. Supposing for once with the Adventurer, that the Miscarriages of his "Royal Family" had been atoned for, would it be consistent with the *English* Generosity, the Laws of Nature and Nations, or even common Justice, to take in a Family until their own be recovered of their Phrenzy, and then dismiss them without any Cause?

5^{to}. His rhetorical Insinuations, which are indeed very handsomely put, are all answered in the Affirmative. Our Kings, since the Revolution, have been like the *Edwards* and *Henrys* of Old, the Fathers of their People; and like these, have, instead of being Pensioners to *France*, as was King *Charles II.* who had 100,000*l.* from that Crown, humbled it as much as ever did *Edward*

ward the black Prince, or the victorious Henry V. for the Battles of *Hockstet* and *Ramellies*, can vie with those of *Cressy*, *Poitiers*, and *Agincourt*. There has been more Humanity, more Condescension in them, than in those he calls his Forefathers, who were as severe upon the Protestants, as the *Roman* Emperors were on the first Christians. The Places of Execution have not been us'd like Shambles to Men for not wounding their Consciences, but only to those who had broke thro' the Dictates of Nature, burst the Ties of Humanity, and feloniously trampled upon the Laws of the Land. In a Word, there has been a free Course for Justice mixed with Goodness and Discretion, so far as humane Foresight could penetrate, nor has there been any Interruption, except when the Royal Mercy interposed. The Government is not railed at in the publick Assemblies, tho' indeed sometimes Prime Ministers may be complain'd of, and that with very good Reason; what if *Britain* had the justest Reason then? what tho' Ministers, entirely given to Pleasure, should manage with little Prudence abroad, and at Home confer their Favours only upon Minions of their own, does it follow from thence, that there is an Outcry against the King or the Constitution? Far from it: Indeed, *Kep-poch* and *Glengary* perhaps may complain,

be-

because, since the Revolution, they have not been sent down to plunder the Western Counties.

6to. As to this Question, " Who has the
 " best Chance to be independant on foreign
 " Powers, *he who with the Aid of his own*
 " *Subjects,*" &c. Pray who are his Subjects? The *Mac Donalds* of *Clanranald*, *Glenco*, and the other Chieftains of that Name, the *Cammerons*, *MacGregours*, *MacKinnons*, *MacLeans* and *MacNeils*, People estranged by Nature from the Body of the Nation, Enemies to the best of the *Scots* Kings, who were sometimes reduced to artful, tho' wicked Expedients, to keep them low, as in the Case of *David Bruce*, who remembering the Advice of his Father, King *Robert*, sent some Incendiaries to stir up such a Division among them, as that they engag'd in pitch'd Battles, and fought almost to the Extirpation of each, *Anno 1355*. But pray whom had he of the *English* Nation, or whom of the best Part of the *Scots*? Indeed, some of the Clans, the Posterity of the ancient Pest of the *Scots* Kings, with some Desperadoes, joined his Standard, and even some Noblemen, dazzled with the glittering Appearance, embarked in the Scheme; but what Proportion did these degenerate and unnatural Sons bear to the numerous Inhabitants of *Britain* and *Ireland*? Besides, King *George*, being then at
 War

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War with *France* and *Spain*, not on the Score of Religion, but of Commerce and Trade, his own Independance, and his ancient natural Allies, could not send such a Number of Veterans as directly to disperse the Rebels; nor are the *Scots* Militia to be compared to what formerly they were, when they frequently defeated the *Highlanders* tho' ten to one, as at *Harlaw*, Anno 1411. Now the Country is civilized, from Soldiers they are become Merchants and Tradesmen, and by the Customs paid from their Labour, can employ a sufficient Army to suppress Com-motions from within, and oppose Irruptions from without: Now in this Case, who can attribute to Weakness or Fear, the calling the *Dutch*, the *Hessians*, the *Danes* and *Swiss*, the Allies of *Great-Britain*, to Assistance in the midst of Calamity? it is better to make use of them, than to take the Workman from his Labour, the Counsellor from the Bar, the Clergy from the Pulpit, the Physician from his Patient, the Merchant from his Warehouse, or the Husbandman from his Plough; Add to this, that by maintaining a few of these foreign Troops, *Britain* reaps the Advantage of importing into the Empire, *East-India* and other mercantile Wares, that can't be consumed by themselves. Better that the Inhabitants of *Britain* should be enriched by an honest Industry, so as to live

in a comfortable Manner, than be reduced to the miserable State of being obliged to fly to a Drum for a scrimp Subsistence. In time we might like the *Mc Donalds*, become a Source of Recruits for the House of *Bourbon*. But has he not got what he wanted? Who but the National Forces of *Britain*, were with our King's Son when he defeated him? Whereas with him there were some National Troops of *France*, who, with *Spain*, he declares, "are able and engaged to support "him," and who are more than a Match for all the Allies he mentions.

While writing these Observations, I was touched with Compassion for his Misfortune, and recollected the following Lines out of the immortal Poem *The Campaign*, the first I had ever taken the Pains to mandate, and which I shall insert with a little Variation:

*Deluded Youth, how is thy Greatness crost,
And all the gaudy Dream of Empire lost,
That proudly set thee on a fancy'd Throne,
And made imaginary Realms thine own;
Thy Troops which muster'd once behind the
Lyne,*

*Did after seek their Shelter from the Tyne,
Nor found it there; amidst thy dire Alarms
Thou hop'd the Assistance of the Gallic Arms,
The Gallic Arms in safety did advance,
And crown'd thy Standards with the Power of
France,*

While

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*While to console thy Doom th' aspiring Gaul
Shar'd thy Destruction, and adorn'd thy Fall!*

This Declaration, wrought up with all the Embellishments his Cause would admit of, was soon followed by a very long Paper, called *An Address to the Army and People*, wrote by *S. Sheridan*, in the most insinuating and persuasive Manner; and as it is the Duty of a skilful Physician to lay open the most dangerous Wounds, that the same may be more speedily and effectually cured, so it is the Business of a faithful Historian, or of an honest Man, that best of Characters, to give a genuine Narrative of such Arguments as an invading Party use, to the intent the same may be answered in due Time, and that a Remedy may be prepared if an Incident of the like Nature should happen again.

That great Politician and artful Reasoner, after insisting upon what is laid down in the Pretender's Manifesto, observes, that, of all Crimes, Paricide is of the deepest Dye! And that of the several Species of it, none could come up to that of dethroning and torturing a King; which last, the keeping him from his Right, must necessarily imply a Crime, continued he, unknown to the Heathens, and at which, "*Pilate, the Roman Governour, cry'd out with Horror, What, crucify your King?*" On this he dwells for

two Pages; then proceeds to remove the Objection rais'd against the Reality of his Master's Birth, whom he calls, " the most
" accomplished Gentleman in *Europe* ;" he insists upon the Depositions of Mrs. *Mary Crane*, Maid of Honour to the Queen Dowager *Katherine* of *Portugal*, and others, with regard to it, and puts the Question, how such a bale Thing could enter into the Heart of a Man? But, proceeds he, " What has the
" Youth (meaning the Adventurer) done
" against you, a Youth adorned with such
" Charms, that he wants nothing to be admir'd
" but to be seen;" then he shews, that the Preservation of the Protestant Religion under a Roman Catholick King is not impracticable; as in the Case of the Subjects of *Saxony*, and those of the *Palatinate* ; he then reflects upon the present Royal Family, and puts the Question, " Have they not been Cyphers
" since ever they came among you, and the
" very Ridicule of those over whom they
" govern?" so concludes, " with beseech-
" ing them to return to their Allegiance,
" that they may not henceforth be a Proverb
" among other Nations for having expelled
" their King; whose Ancestors were the
" Fountain, whence they and theirs had de-
" rived their Titles, their Honours, and their
" Arms:" To these, I shall only make the following Answer.

Paricide

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Paricide is certainly a Crime of the deepest Dye, and that of dethroning a King, is of the worst Species; and I wish that neither *Sherridan*, or any of his Cabal, had been guilty of such an Intention; but no Definition of Paricide, that implies Guilt with regard to *K. James*, can be apply'd to us, unless his own abandoning a Throne upon the Peoples praying for a Redress of Grievances, can be called by such a terrible and odious Name; far less indeed can it be apply'd to the Case of the *Pretender*, who never was in Possession, and who, if the real Son of the abdicated *James*, must according to the Laws of Reason, and Revelation, have the Forfeiture of his Father entailed upon him. Tho' Paricide, is a Crime sufficient to excite the Astonishment of a Heathen, yet *Pilate*, by sitting in Judgment, and trying our Saviour, whom his Accusers called "King of the *Jews*," is a Demonstration, that *he* thought Kings themselves were accountable for their Conduct, or, in other Words, *he* judg'd, that both Kings and Subjects were to be ballanced in the Scales of the Law.

The Oaths of the Witnesses concerning the Birth of the Chevalier, and of Mrs. *Crane* in particular, shall not be weakened by me; one Thing is certain, that incomparable Lady has said so little upon the Subject, that its astonishing she should be named, nor is it

a new Thing, to find a spurious Breed of Pretenders to a Crown, in the *Scots, English,* or other Annals, for no less than two have appeared in *Sweden*, since the Death of *Charles XII.* As to the Accomplishments of the old Chevalier, I can say nothing, except from his Manifestoes, and in these I presume will appear the Charms of his Son: As to the Consistency of enjoying the Exercise of the Protestant Religion, under a Roman Catholick King, let it be considered, that the Example of the King of *Poland*, is truly the worst he could think of, since that Monarch, and his Father, like other crown'd Heads, only profess'd the Roman Catholick Doctrines to qualify themselves for a Throne: The same Thing, tho' in a less Degree, could be observed of the Elector *Palatine*, and of late, we have seen that the Brother of the Duke *de Deux Ponts*, has commenced a Roman, to gain the Favour of the Court of *Versailles*, since he is out of all Hopes of ever enjoying the Crown of *Sweden*: His Reflections upon the Royal Family, are surely ill grounded, and as the Eyes of *Europe* in general, and the *British* Nation in particular, are open, they must easily see, as clear as Noon Day, the Malignity and Wickedness of the ungenerous Aspersions.

These Arguments of the Chevalier, and his Favourites, though dispersed among a
short-

short-sighted Mob, whose Giddiness will not allow them to see thro' the artful Colourings of Jesuitry, or even the very Outside of an Object clearly, had so little Effect upon the Inhabitants of the Southern Provinces, that out of some of them, such as *Air*, *Galloway*, *Dumfries*, and *Teviotdale*, scarce three or four join'd; however, his Papers put Arguments into the Mouths of his Friends, among whom the old Laird of *Mac Kinnon*, who on the 13th arrived with an hundred of his Name; a poor, indigent Sett of People, only remarkable for a Readiness to rebel; next Day *Boyer* the *French* Ambassador, arrived from *Stonehive* where he had landed, with Dispatches from his Brother, Assurance of Assistance from the *French* King, and a considerable Supply of small Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery; for managing of which, he brought two Engineers, *Grant* and *Gordon*; along; of the latter, no great Things were said, but the former was called, in the *Caledonian Mercury*, "as fine an Engineer as *Europe* could boast of."

However, the Supplies he got from Abroad not being sufficient for defraying the Expence of his Court, and paying of his Army, Orders were given that all Sheriffs, Stewards, Baillies, Chamberlains, and Vassals, should transmit just Accounts of their Intromissions, with the Estates forfeited, *Anno*

1715, under Pain of Rebellion. This was to maintain a Regiment of Life-Guards, then raising for Lord *Elcho*; they were clad in Blue, with red Facings, the private Men had the Pay of marching Regiments, but the Officers were only paid the fourth Part, with a Promise of their Arrears, when Peace was restored. Such as enter'd among this Corps, were Persons who had no Character to lose, and most of the Soldiers Prisoners, who list'd with them for Conveniency, and embraced the first Opportunity to desert.

In a few Days after, he was joined by *Alexander Lord Forbes of Pittligo*, who brought with him a Troop of about 100 Horse. He was looked upon as one of so religious a Turn of Mind, as to border upon Enthusiasm, and reckoned by far the most judicious Nobleman in the whole Army; however, he was so mistaken in his political Principles, and so much attached to the Interest of the Adventurer, that tho' he had been in the Rebellion 1715, and allowed the peaceable Possession of his Estate, yet from a Principle of Conscience, he embarked again in the desperate Cause, while others, from whose Judgment and Experience, better Things might be expected, joined also. But the most unfortunate of all, was *William Earl of Kilmarnock*. the Representative of an ancient and noble Family that sometimes
matched

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matched with the Blood Royal. He was in the Flower of his Age, being about forty Years old. The Elegance of his Person, and Comeliness of his Features, which were every Way handsome, bespake internal Beauties. Under the kindest of Fathers, he had been bred up in the Revolution Principles, and bore Arms for the Government, *Anno* 1715, nor had he disguis'd his Sentiments to his own Family, for he train'd up his Children in the same Way, and at the very Time of his joining the Insurgents, his eldest Son had a Commission from the Government, and every Way behav'd as became him. How unfortunate then, for one of his Lordship's Principles and Birth, to embark in such a Scheme, as ruined himself and his Friends. Such an unaccountable Procedure was presaged in a marvellous Manner, which I shall set down without giving my own Opinion upon the Subject.

About a Year before the Rebellion broke out, his Lady's Maid inspecting some Linnen, in an upper Room, was suddenly presented with the View of a bloody Head, which by the Door opening of its own Accord, enter'd the Room, bounded upon the Floor, and appear'd to be his Lordships; on its Approach toward her, she lifted up her Foot to kick it off, when she became

powerless, and was obliged to cry out; on its second Appearance, she had again repeated her Efforts and her Cry; the Shrieks were heard by his Lordship, who with his Lady went up to the Room, and had the Story from the Gentlewoman's own Mouth, which at that Time he too much ridiculed, tho' it could have been wished that he had been forewarned by the Omen.

I am not to account for the Motives inducing him to enter into a Scheme that terminated so fatally for him; shall only say, that the false Glitterings of the Pretender's Success at first, the gay Prospect of raising his Fortune, and aggrandizing his Family, with the mistaken Notions about the weak State of the Country, then innocently exposed by the Friends of the Government, and particularly the pious *Gardner*, with whom he supped at *Lithgow*, as that brave Officer was retreating before the Enemy, prevail'd upon his easy Temper to embark in the Project. Soon after *Mac Pherison* of *Clunie* came in with 500 Men; he was Chieftain of the true *Clan Cattan*, a Captain in *Lord Loudon's* Regiment, and married to the eldest Daughter of *Lord Lovat*, who since the Year 1743, had made use of the following Handle to stir them up to rebel.

That Year, the *Highland* Regiment, then commanded by *Lord Semple*, were reviewed
on

on *Finchley-Common*, before an infinite Multitude, and tho' none of the Royal Family were present as expected, yet with an uncommon Address they went thro' the different Evolutions of the Military Exercise; which was scarce over, when 105 deserted in a Body, under Pretence they were scrimped of their Plaids, and intended to be sent Abroad, contrary to the Articles of Agreement at regimenting of them. No sooner were they gone, than a Detachment of General *Wade's* Horse was sent off, and came up with them in a Wood, where after some Propositions only to gain Time till they could be surrounded, they surrender'd Prisoners to the Major, who ordered *Samuel* and *Malcolm Mac Pherson*, both Corporals, and really Men of good Education, with *Farquhar Shaw*, a Piper, to be manacled and conducted to the Tower. At their Trial they confessed the Charge of Desertion, which I was informed by their Friends, was wholly owing to the Assurances given them of Pardon by a Gentleman, hired by a Person of great Distinction for that Purpose; and so they were shot on the 18th of *May*, about Six in the Morning. The *Clan Cattan*, observing that three of their Name, to whom most of them (as the other Highlanders) were related, had fallen a Sacrifice for the Crime of which several *Grants* and

Munros were equally guilty, breathed nothing but *Revenge*; however, their *Resentment* was smother'd for a while, till like the *Flame* when bursting from a *Fire* cover'd with *Ashes*, it began to burn with the greater *Violence*: When *Lord Lovat* heard of this Execution from *Mr. Mac Pherfon* of *Innernabaun*, he began to wring his *Hands*, and to cry out bitterly, " O poor *Sam Mac Pherfon*, well did I know your Great Grandfather, well did it set him to wear a belted *Plaid*, and a broad *Sword*, my Heart is like to break to think upon your Fate," and dexterously added, " these Highlanders who surrendered were capable of cutting off all *Wade's Dragoons*;" and then proceeded to shew, that the *Horse* were of no *Use* in *Battle*, except to pursue. These *Mac Pherfons* were the last to join the *Chevalier* from the *North*, where a *Storm* was gathering against him; for the *Earl of Lowdon* had repaired to *Inverness* upon the 11th of *October*, to take upon him the *Command* of the independent *Highland Companies*, which *Duncan Forbes* of *Culloden*, *Lord President* of the *Session*, a *Gentleman* of the strictest *Honour*, the most extensive *Knowledge*, and of great *Interest* among the *Clans*, was impowered by a *Warrant* signed at *Whitehall* the 30th of *August*, to raise for the *Service* of the *Government*;
and

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and here it will not be improper to give a short Sketch of the Character of these People, whereof they were to be composed.

And *1mo.* All to the North of Fort *Augustus*, who speak the *Irish* Language, I call the Northern, those to the South, the Western Clans: The former are as poor, in as blind and abject Slavery as the latter, to their Chiefs and Superiors, and in these Things they agree: They generally abhor each other, yet if in a foreign Country the speaking *Irish* would make them Friends: The Dialect of their Language differs as much, as the Way of Speaking in *Middlesex* and *Surrey*, from that in *Yorkshire* and *Berwick* upon *Tweed*. And the Accent of both is as disgustful to the Inhabitants of the South of *Scotland*, as theirs is to the *Cockneys* who live at *St. James's*.

The Northern are not so quick or ingenious as the Western, nor have they, like them, obliged the World with a *Buchanan*, a *David*, and a *James Gregory*, and at last a *Mac Laurin*, each of whom have published Works coeval with the Sun; of the former sometimes great Men appear'd in the Field, but such as were rais'd, prov'd seldom an Honour to their Country; the latter brought forth Men of a martial Genius, which either shew'd itself in Feuds among themselves,

selves, or in Rebellions against their *Scottish* and *British* Sovereigns.

The Northern Clans then consist of the *Mac Kenzies*, *Sutherlands*, *Mac Kays*, *Gunns*, *Mathijons*, *Mac Leods*, *Grants* and *Munros*, for I am not treating of those in the Rebellion, nor yet of the *Mac Phails*, *Mac Intires*, *Mac Inucaters*, and other wretched Creatures. The first are descended of one *Kenneth*, who for his Services, *Anno* 1263, against the *Danes*, had the Lands of *Kintail* assigned him : His Posterity were called *Mac Kenneth*, afterwards *Mac Kenzie* : The Persons they and the whole high flying Party boast of are, *Sir George Mac Kenzie* of *Rosebaugh*, a Man of Ingenuity, but no substantial * Learning; *George* Earl of *Cromarty*, and Doctor *George* in *Chanory*, each of whose Writings tend to mislead, and the Subjects they treat of are frivolous and mean. It is remarkable, that these People are rigorous when they get the Ascendant, great Persecutors of the Distressed, as in 1645, 1675, and 1715; but at present their Gentlemen encourage Improvement and Industry, and their Commonalty are virtuously inclined. The *Mac Leods* answer their last, but not their former Character : These, since the Battle of *Worcester*, *Anno* 1651, that they joined the Cavalier Party in Opposition to the
wiser

* *Bishop Burnet's History*, Vol. I. p. 414.

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wiser Part of the Nation, have never meddled in the Affairs of the Government till the Winter 1745, that their present Chieftain, to the great Mortification of the Lord *Lovat* and his Party, mustered up about 400 Men, in Defence of his King and Country.

As to the People of *Sutherland*, they are compos'd first of the *Gunns*, a *Clan* of little or no Property, and who, like the *Mathisons*, never made a Figure either Abroad or at Home: The *Mac Kays* are indeed of a nobler Race, being the same with the *Forbeses*, descended of an *Irish* Nobleman, who, about the Year 1300, came into *Scotland*, had two Sons, the Younger of whom, by a Marriage, procured the Lands of *Strathie*; from his Grandson *Y More* (*i. e.* *Great*) the Name is deriv'd: Having settled here, a Dispute arose between the *Murrays* and *Duffs*, then the Proprietors of *Strathnavern*, and these having fought and extirpated each other, there remaining but seven of the former, and twelve of the latter, desperately wounded, their Lands fell an easy Prey to the *Mac Kays*, who afterward made a very handsome Appearance, particularly under the Great *Gustavus Adolphus*; besides, Major-General *Mac Kay*, tho' by his Rashness he lost the Battle of *Killicranky*, has yet a Claim to be inserted in the Annals of his Country.

The

The *Sutherlands*, the same with the *Catti*, who came to *Scotland* in the Days of *Corbredus*, *Anno* 76, are of the same Stock with the *Mac Pherfons*, but much degenerated from the Bravery of their Ancestors. The Inhabitants of the Coast of *Sutherland*, are generally very low spirited and dejected, as subject to their *Lairds*, (some of whom are scarce worth 20*l.* per *Annum* the richest not 150*l.*) as Negroes to their Masters. It is notorious what Numbers of Slaves were sent off to the Plantations by *Duff, Mac Kay* and Company, *Anno* 1728 and 1729, when no Regard was paid to the Cries of the Widow or the Orphan; in short, those People are as poor, their Tempers as barbarous and inhuman, as cruel and revengeful, as that of the worst of the Rebels, but less active, more stupid, and not at all given to that outward Civility, which the latter, by a natural Air peculiar to themselves, affect to shew the few Strangers who come among them: Add to this, that the Commonalty feed very coarsely upon Cockles, Muscles, and other Shell Fish, for four Months of the Year, and are much given to Witchcraft and Charms, for which a poor old stupid Woman was burnt at *Dornoch*, in *Sutherland*, on the 7th of *June* 1727, before a great Number of Spectators; and about four Years before, a mean Person of no Education, not so much as under-

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understanding the *English* Tongue in the *Scots* Dialect, assumed the Name of the Saviour of the World; two others took on them the Names of the other Persons of the sacred Trinity, sent out Twelve whom they called Apostles, and whom the Populace followed for a Time: An unparallel'd Instance of Delusion, and which none except one Man in *France*, Anno 508, ever fell into since the Christian *Æra*. *

But the People of *Sutherland* were not more unfit for War, than their Chieftain, *William*, Earl of *Sutherland*, was pusillanimous and naughty, tho' descended from a second Daughter of King *Robert Bruce*, the most illustrious Monarch that ever sway'd the *Scottish* Sceptre.

The Character given the Commonalty of *Sutherland*, will exactly fit the *Munro's*, however some Gentlemen of that County, among whom is a Number of *Gordons*, are abundantly sprightly and brave. The *Grants* are of an *Irish* Extraction, and by extirpating the *Cummings*, have become Possessors of *Strathspey*: The publick Annals are almost silent about them; and the Part which the Body of them acted during the Rebellion, shews how much they resemble their Ancestors in the Neutrality they embraced.

* *Fordun Scotichron, Lib. 3. Ch. 39.*

Of these Men, the Lords President and *Loudon*, excited above 2000 to join in Defence of the Government, which was such a Drawback, that had not this Caution been used, 5000 more had crown'd the Standard of the Adventurer; who having got another Supply of Money, Arms, Ammunition, and warlike Stores from *France*, and *Spain*, thought of moving forward. These had been landed at *Stonehaven*, and *Montrose*, and convey'd from Town to Town in 185 Carts, which the Country People were compelled to bring in; they crossed at *Haigens Nuick*, where a Battery was erected for securing them against those of *Stirling*, then preparing to intercept the Convoy, which having arrived at *Edinburgh*, and the Marquis of *Tullibardin* having come up from *Dunkeld*, with a Reinforcement of 1800 Men, an Order was published upon the 28th, for preparing Carriages to convey his Baggage to *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, or the like Distance; these having come in, he set out for *Dalkeith* upon *Thursday* the first of *November*, after ordering *Sullivan* and *Lockeol* to bring up the Rear; he lodged two Nights in the Duke of *Buccleugh's* fine Palace there, and being joined by a few of the Clan *Cattan*, on *Sunday* the 3d, he marched with the Main Body for *Lauder*, where that Night he arrived, while one Corps took the Road of *Pennycuik*, and another

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ther that of *Loanhead*, both in their Way to *Carlisle*. Next Day, on a false Alarm that a great Body of Dragoons were advancing upon him, he returned to *Channel Kirk*, to bring up the Remainder of his Troops; which being effected, he proceeded toward *Kello*, while his Parties raised the publick Money, and extorted Sums from the landed Gentlemen as they passed along.

The End of the THIRD BOOK.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK IV.

CONTENTS.

The State of England when the Highlanders entered it, with an Account of that Kingdom; their Arrival at Derby, with the Duke of Cumberland's Progress against them; the Action at Clifton, and the Chevalier's Retreat into Scotland.

AT last the Adventurer quitted Scotland, on the 8th of November, with 7000 Effective Men, formerly clad in Iron, but now shining in Gold and Silver, the Spoils of *Edinburgh, Glasgow*, and the Southern Provinces: All his Regiments were full,

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full, and besides, there were with him a Number of Volunteers, only waiting till Companies could be raised, or Vacancies should fall; they were all compleatly arm'd, and from the highest Officer, to the meanest Serjeant, had Gold and Silver Lace upon their Cloaths, which were all new; he had further Assurance, that several in the North of *Scotland*, would declare for him in his Absence, and had a Prospect of being joined by Numbers as he marched along; he had likewise thirteen Pieces of Brass Cannon, of 12 Pounders, that had been sent him from *France*, which with those taken from General *Cope*, made a fine Train of Artillery: His Military Chest was in very good Order, and his Hopes of being supply'd in a more opulent Country than hitherto he had been in, augmented his Spirits, and raised the Courage of his Men:

The Kingdom of *England*, which is almost Triangular, begins in Lat. 50° and extends to Lat. $55^{\circ} 20'$; and from the first Degree of Longitude, making the *Lands End*, the first Meridian, to $5^{\circ} 20'$; the whole lyes in so cherishing and wholesome a Climate, that the Ground itself is productive of that Liberty breathed by its Inhabitants. No Nation possesses more real Advantages, whether we consider the Richness of its Soil, the Temperature of its Air, the Plenty of Fish upon its Coasts, the
Preci-

Preciousness of its Mines, the Abundance of its Forrests, and Tallness of its Trees, the Capaciousness and Safety of its Harbours, the Number and Splendour of its Cities, abounding with Inhabitants, and increas'd in Wealth and Opulence, its Convenience, with the Largeness and Fatness of its Cattle, the Comeliness and Beauty of its Men; some of whom have been as conspicuous for Improvement in the Sciences, as others have been remarkable for Conduct, and terrible in the Field.

This Country is not subject to the same Degree of Heat in Summer, or of Cold in Winter, as those Places which lye upon the same Parallel of Latitude, for the moistening Vapour that rises out of the Sea, with the Sea itself, exhales the chilling Cold of the freezing Winds, that in Winter blow from *Denmark, Sweden, and Russia*; and in Summer the cooling Breezes that spring from the Ocean, and are propagated with the Tides, that wind thro' the inland Parts, abate the Heat of the Sun: Such is the Situation of this Country, that she fits the Guardian of the Continent, and while powerful at Sea, she is subject to no Invasion. Could we suppose a Crowd of *Spaniards* to settle in it, their Descendants would soon work out the innate Gravity of their Ancestors; whereas, if an *English* Colony should settle in *Spain*,

or

or *Africa*, it's not doubted, but the sultry Heats would benumb their Senses, render them lazy, and an easy Prey to a superstitious and a gloomy Religion.

But as the greatest Natural Advantages, cannot avail without a proper Oeconomy, so in the Case before us, *England* is happy in a Constitution, which to erect was the Work of Ages, and cost an Immensity of Blood and Treasure; it is a mixed Monarchy, formed and established upon the justest Balance of Prerogative in the Crown, and Liberty of the Subject, for the Preservation of the whole; or, in other Words, the King has as much Power as Man can ask, and the Subject as much Liberty as Man can crave. He is a Negative upon the Parliament which is compos'd of Lords and Commons, and they are the same upon him; all enjoy the Protection of the Laws, for the due Execution of which, the wisest Regulations are made, tho' not always pursued; there is likewise a beautiful Subordination of Civil Officers, and Courts of Justice, from which to Parliament there lye Appeals for Decision. As the Country abounds in Trade, and is now a Composition and Mixture of all Nations, its hard to ascertain the particular Temper, the Person and Make of their Inhabitants, the Descendants from the different Settlers, bearing some Likeness to those of
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the Country, whence their Forefathers did spring: But the greater Part resemble those of the Southern Parts of *Scotland*, both in Stature and Genius, and like them are comely and brave.

As *England* is a trading Nation, we cannot exactly compute the Number of its Inhabitants, tho' by an Estimate from her Parishes, and Bills of Mortality, we may venture to say, that they are no less than ten Millions, of whom, every tenth Person may be supposed capable of bearing Arms, for taking of which in defence of their Advantages, natural and acquired, the Regency, and leading Men of the Nation, set the most bright and laudable Example. The Courts of Justice at that Time were filled with Men, who were look'd upon as painful and just; and the Clergy, among whom is the same Subordination of Offices as in the State, was reckoned the most learned among the Protestants, tho' indeed it must be own'd, that so small an Allowance is granted to the inferior Officers as renders them despicable; whereas the dignify'd Clergy, enjoy larger Revenues, than either the Army or Navy can boast of; their Principles in Religion are very much like those of the Church of *Scotland*, who far from the Learning of the other, have yet this Advantage, that tho' none of their Ministers be rich, yet none of them are strictly poor,

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poor, every one having such a Competency, as may enable him to live comfortably in the Place where he serves.

The Army was hastening from *Flanders*, carrying Experience as an Addition to their innate Courage and Activity, while the Fleet, by far the strongest in the World, under the Direction of the wisest Officers, was guarding the Coasts, and before the End of the War almost ruined the Marine of the House of *Bourbon*. All these sensible of the Advantages they enjoy'd, like one Man stood up to oppose the Invasion of a young *Italian*, accompanied by the *Highlanders* of *Scotland*.

The Navy, that Bulwark of the *British* Isle, that Promoter of her Wealth, and Defender of her Gain, were stationed in the properest Places for intercepting any Convoys from *France*, the Ports and trading Towns were supplied with Cannon, and the Forces marched for the Coast, while Mr. *Trevor* at the *Hague*, was ordered to require the 6000 Auxiliaries, which the *Dutch* were obliged to furnish *Britain* in case of an Invasion; the States complied, and gave Orders for them to be in Readiness to embark; this the *French* Minister remonstrated against, and on the 7th of *September* gave in a Memorial, setting forth, that "the sending eight of the Battalions which defended the Citadel of *Tournay*, to the Assistance of the King of

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Great-Britain, was an Infraction of the Capitulation of that Town, his Master was pleased to grant them; that the employing these in Defence of the King of *England*, was so far detrimental to the *French*, that it enabled the National *British* Troops to continue to act against his Master, and his Allies, and desired a speedy Answer to this Representation."

The States of *Holland*, who never are at a Loss for Answers to a Power, which tho' naturally an Enemy to them, yet was obliged in some Measure not only to fawn upon them, but to give them considerable Advantages, soon drew up a Reply, importing, that they were sorry his most Christian Majesty should take any Umbrage at sending into *England* these Troops, which made part of the Garrison of *Tournay*, since this was no Violation of the Treaty of that Place, as appeared from the Words of it; that they were obliged to assist *Great-Britain*, in Consequence of the most solemn Engagements; that those Troops were in No Means to act offensively against *France*, nor in the most remote Places on the Continent from her Barrier, but only in support of a Crown, with which they were in the strictest Alliance, when shaken by rebellious Subjects. Some other Memorials were afterward presented, as on the 18th, which was answered on the 21st, another on the 6th of *October*, which

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which was replied to on the 13th. The subtle Arguments of the *Abbe de la Ville* had not the expected Influence, for on the 17th of *September* three Battalions, and on the 20th three more, and four Companies of *Herfler's* *Swiss* Regiment of Foot, commanded by Count *Nassau*, arrived in the *Thames*, and before the middle of *October*, the whole were landed, and had immediate Orders to join General *Wade's* Army, then designed for *Newcastle upon Tyne*, to be ready for marching against the Enemy. This Affair was thought to produce a Quarrel betwixt the *French* and the *States General*, but the World was soon deceived, when they saw the latter keeping fair with all Sides; and like the Herd in the Fable, milking the Cow, while the contending Parties were pulling her almost with equal Strength, the one tugging her by the Horns, and the other dragging her by the Tail: The States had already pleased *Britain* by sending the Troops, and in a short Time they pacify'd *France* by their Inaction, for tho' they landed, they were so far from being advantageous, that they were a dead Weight upon General *Wade's* Counsels, and by the Slowness of their Motions, hindered him from acting the Part he inclined.

But the Conduct of the *Dutch* was not more ambiguous and artful, than the secret

Connivance of the Court of *Versailles*, at the Project of the Adventurer was open and apparent, tho' she hitherto disclaimed it, and her Ministers not only called it a *Don Quixotte* Expedition, at the Courts where they resided, but gave out, that in *January*, 1744, *M. Amelot* was removed and disgraced, for giving him such Hopes as drew him into *France*. But now the Scene is changed, the *French* King breathed nothing but Resentment against King *George* for writing a Letter in *March* 1744, to the *States*, desiring them to declare War against him; and his Anger was now kindled, by a decisive Stroke given both to his Counsels and Arms, by the Advancement of the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* to the Imperial Throne, thro' the Influence of his Majesty, who, three Days before this grand Event, arrived at *St. James's*, to the universal Joy of his Subjects, then at a Gaze.

Scarce had he landed in *Britain*, when Addresses came to him from all Quarters; the People had an unfeigned Emulation to exceed in Loyalty; the Merchants and trading Part of *London*, associated at the Risque of their Lives and Fortunes, in support of their King and Country; Men of Property, of all Ranks and Orders, crowded in with liberal Subscriptions for raising Forces, beyond the Example of former Times, and uncompell'd by Law: The Admirals, and
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Captains of the Navy, agreed to levy a Regiment of Foot, for paying which, they appropriated their own Salaries. The Proprietors of the Prince *Frederic* and *Duke* Privateers, gave a Loan to the King of 700,000 *l.* their Share of some rich Prizes, to be repay'd as the Parliament should direct. The Clergy formed their Hearers by Precept, and excited by their Example, in support of the Crown, of their own Liberties, and of the Reformed Religion; and among these, the excellent Doctor *Secker*, Bishop of *Oxford*, shew'd, in a well connected Sermon, that it was a Roman Catholic Tenet, "to keep no Faith with Hereticks," and illustrated the same from a recent Example.

In the Year 1707, While *Charles XII.* of *Sweden*, was in *Saxony*, he demanded of the Emperor of *Germany*, the free Exercise of the reformed Religion, to the Protestants of *Silesia*; the Article was sign'd at the Peace of *Altrandstadt*, Sept. 10th, 1707, and continued to be observed so long as it could be defended by the Terror of the *Swedish* Arms; but as soon as that Prince's Affairs went wrong, Pope *Clement XI.* absolved the Emperor *Joseph*, from the Obligations he had entered into. And here it may be proper to observe, that Pope *Clement V.* absolved *Edward I.* of *England*, from his Obligation to maintain the *Magna Charta*, or Liberty of the Subject.

150 *The HISTORY of the*

And its well known, that two successive Popes loosed the People from their Allegiance to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to King *James I.* on account of Heresy, that is, because they were Protestants.

But while their Lordships of *Oxford*, of *Hereford*, *Worcester*, *Bristol*, and *Durham*, with Doctor *Potter*, then Primate of *England*, were using, with great Success, the Christian Method of exhorting their Hearers to Loyalty, and writing circular Letters to their Diocesses, Doctor *Thomas Herring*, then Archbishop of *York*, but now of *Canterbury*, added the Office of a Soldier to his sacred Function, by taking up Arms, which became him extremely well, he being nervous and strong, and to shew his Zeal, made a Speech which procur'd the following Association.

The ASSOCIATION.

WHEREAS there is now a horrid and unnatural Rebellion, formed and carried on in *Scotland*, by Papists and other wicked and treacherous Persons, countenanced and supported by the old and inveterate Enemies of our Country, and the Religion and Liberties thereof, the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, in order to dethrone his present Majesty King *George*, the only rightful and lawful King of these Realms; and having
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subverted our Religion, Laws, and Liberties, (which God forbid) to set upon the Throne a Popish Pretender, a Dependant and a Slave to those tyrannous and corrupted Courts: We the Lord Archbishop of *York*, Lords Lieutenants, Nobility, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others of the County of *York*, whose Names are subscribed to this Writing, and every of us, being of Opinion, that in Times so full of Danger and treasonable Practices as these are, an Union of our Hearts and Forces will be most conducing to his Majesty's Safety, and the publick Good of our Country, do voluntarily and willingly bind ourselves every one of us to the other jointly and severally, in the Band of one firm and loyal Society, and do hereby promise, that with our whole Powers, Bodies, Lives and Estates, we and every of us will stand by and assist each other in the Support and Defence of his Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and will withstand, offend, and pursue, as well by Force of Arms, as by all other Means, the said Popish Pretender and Traitors, and also all Manner of Persons, of what State soever they be, and their Abettors, that shall attempt, act, counsel, or consent to any Thing that shall tend to the Harm of his Majesty King *George*, or of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*, or any of their

Issue, or to the Subversion of his Majesty's Government. And we do by this Instrument declare, that no one of us shall, for any Respect of Persons or Causes, or for Fear or Reward, separate ourselves from this Association, or fail in the Prosecution thereof, during our Lives. *Dated at the Castle of York, the 24th Day of September, in the Year of our Lord 1745.*

Every Gentleman engaged for a Year's valu'd Rent of his Estate, and in a short Time about 33000 *l.* was paid down, while some went so far as to raise Companies, among whom was *W. Thornton, Esq; of Chattel*; who paid and clothed a Corps of 70 Men, whom he denominated the *Yorkshire Blues*.

The Northern Counties followed the Example of *York*, while the Dissenters pressed the Steps of the Church, by contributing according to their Capacity; the Quakers furnished Woollen Waistcoats to enable the Troops to go thro' their Winter Campaign: The Roman Catholics knowing that in the Event of the Pretender's Success, their Estates and Properties would become a Prey to Foreigners, abhorred the Thoughts of a Change; the mischievous Effects of Rebellion were exposed upon the Stage, tho' to no great Purpose, since Theatrical Gentlemen and Ladies, are for the most Part of the lowest and most detestable Class of Mortals,
Mi-

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Mimicks for a Piece of Bread, People who could win upon no Audience, tho' expressing the most sublime and elegant Sentiments, as they are generally immoral and vicious in their Lives, and that their Votaries are only made up of the Gay and Young, who come on Account of Intrigue, or to kill a tedious Hour.

The Nobility and Gentry solicited the King to be permitted to hazard their Lives in Defence of their Country, and to raise Forces for that Purpose. The Lord Chancellor *York*, a Man of the utmost Diligence in Business, the strictest Candour and Integrity, and a Regarder of Merit, without Respect of Persons or Countries, exerted himself on this Occasion; as did *Arthur Onslow*, Speaker of the House of Commons, a Gentleman of the greatest Abilities, of the finest Decorum in his Behaviour, without the least Nicety, Affectation or Reserve; these raised some Troops of Horse; the Duke of *Montague* a Regiment of Horse, and another of Foot; the Duke of *Kingston*, a Regiment of Horse; the Duke of *Bedford*, Lord-Lieutenant of the County, whence his Title is derived, raised one in *London*, and another there; the Dukes of *Bolton* and *Ancafter*, with the Duke of *Rutland's* Son, the Marquis of *Granby*, levied each a Regiment of Foot, as did the

Earls of *Hallifax*, *Berkley*, *Cholmondley*, and *Edgcomb*; the Viscounts of *Falmouth* and *Harcourt*; Lords *Gower* and *Herbert*. Some of whom were not disbanded till *September* the 3d, and *Kingston's* Light-Horse not till the 15th, when they received the Thanks of the King, and all but eight Men listed in the Regiment of Dragoons, to be raised for the Duke of *Cumberland*.

Tho' the Generality of these Troops were but raw and undisciplined, yet as so many great Personages mustered among them, the sudden Appearance was of the greatest Advantage, and attended with the most happy Consequences, as it encouraged the inferior Gentry to follow their Example, and deterred the Friends of the Pretender from rising in Arms.

The Judges, such as Sir *William Lee*, Lord Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*; the Hon. *Thomas Parker*, Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*; Mr. *Fortescue*, Master of the Rolls; with the other Judges, Counsellors and Attornies at Law, surrounded the Throne, soliciting to be permitted to hazard their Lives for their Country, and to be authorized to raise Forces at their own Expence for its Protection.

The City of *London*, to whom the Duke of *Newcastle*, then one of the principal Secretaries of State, had on the 5th of *September*,

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ber, by the King's Command, notified the Pretender's Progress, put their Militia directly in Order, and commanded that of *Westminster* to be ready to march; and on the 10th, Sir *Henry Marshal*, then Lord Mayor, and the Aldermen, waited on their Sovereign, with an Offer of their Service, and declared, "That upon every Occasion, they
" were ready to sacrifice all that was dear
" and valuable to them in Defence of his
" Majesty's Person and Family, and in Sup-
" port of the happy Constitution both in
" Church and State." On which six Regiments were raised, who took an Oath to the Government, and abjured the Pretender. The Court of Lieutenancy soon followed their Example; the Merchants of *London* quickly protested their Loyalty. The Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* presented Addresses also, while the other Towns in *England*, like the Members of the Body, influenced by the Head, followed the Example of the Metropolis, and the trading Part of the Nation followed the Steps of the *London* Merchants, who form so considerable and useful a Part of the grand Community.

The four Battalions of Guards were augmented; and on the 5th a Proclamation was emitted against Papists and Nonjurors, to take Effect after the 19th. An Advertisement was published in the City, from the

War-Office, offering 6*l.* Bounty Money to every able-bodied Man, five Feet seven Inches high, or upwards, without Shoes, under thirty Years of Age, if, before the 24th of *September*, he would list in the Guards. On the 13th, Letters were sent to the several Counties of *England* and *Wales*, to raise the Militia, and Arms were given them: And on the 14th, by Proclamation, every Man who from that Time, till *January*, should enlist in any Regiment of Horse, Foot or Dragoons, was offered his Discharge in two Years. On the 23d, the Regiment of *Greys* and *Blackwall*, the three Battalions of the Foot Guards, and the Foot Regiments of Major-Generals *Pultney*, *Howard*, *Braag*, *Johnson*, Brigadier *Douglass*, *Cholmondley*, and Colonel *Sowles*, landed at *Gravesend*. On the 26th, about 1500 Merchants, Traders, and Proprietors of Publick Funds, agreed by Subscription to take Bank Notes in Payment of their Debts, in Order that the *Specie* might circulate among the Troops; this put a Stop to the RUN which had been upon the Bank some Days before, from a groundless Fear of a Design upon the Treasury, which was then strictly observed. On the Night of the 9th of *October*, the Trained Bands began to mount Guard, at the *Royal-Exchange*, *St. Dunstan's* in the West, at *St. Sepulchre's* and *Devonshire-*

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Spire-Square; they continued twenty-four Hours on Duty, till relieved by some Companies of the six Regiments. That Day the *Venetian* Embassador made his Entry with great Magnificence, and was next Day admitted to an Audience of the King, whom he assured of his Masters Esteem. On the 10th, the *Tower-Hamlets* mounted Guard at *Whitechapel-Bars*, *Tower-Hill*, and *Wellclose-Square*. And on the 17th the Parliament met, notwithstanding the following Charge to the contrary.

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

CHARLES P. R.

WHEREAS we are certainly informed, That the Elector of *Hanover* has taken upon him to summon a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, on *Thursday* the Seventeenth of this Instant *October*; We hereby warn and command all his Majesty's Liege Subjects, whether Peers or Commons, to pay no Obedience to any such Summons, and not to presume to meet or act as a Parliament at the Time and Place appointed, or any other; the so doing by any Authority but that of the King our Royal Father,

ther, since the setting up of his Standard; his Majesty's gracious Pardon offered for all that is past, being an *Ouvert-Act* of Treason and Rebellion: But if, notwithstanding this our Declaration, any Number of Persons shall presume to meet in either House, and act there as Members of a lawful Parliament, they cannot but be sensible that no Right or Privilege of Parliament can avail to justify what they say or do, in such an unlawful Assembly. And for those of his Majesty's Subjects of this his ancient Kingdom of *Scotland*, whether Peers or Commoners, who shall, contrary to these our express Commands, presume to sit or vote as aforesaid, as soon as the same shall be verified to us, the Transgressors shall be proceeded against as Traitors and Rebels to their King and Country, and their Estates shall be confiscated for his Majesty's Use, according to the Laws of the Land; the pretended Union of the Kingdoms being now at an End. *Lastly*, We hereby strictly enjoin and command all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, of what Rank and Degree soever, to pay no Obedience or Regard to any Act, Vote, Order or Resolution, that may be published in the Name of both Houses, or of either of them respectively, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril. Given at our Palace of *Holyrood*.

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Holyroodhouse, the ninth Day of October,
One thousand seven hundred and forty five.

CHARLES P. R.

By his Highness's Command. J. MURRAY.

Both Houses being met, for but few of either were absent, the King in his Speech informed them, “ That the open and unnatural Rebellion, which had broke out, and was still continuing in *Scotland*, had obliged him to call them together sooner than he intended,” — “ That the wicked and daring Attempt in Favour of a Popish Pretender to his Crown, headed by his eldest Son, carried on by traiterous and desperate Persons, and encouraged by his Enemies Abroad, required the immediate Advice and Assistance of his Parliament; that the Unanimity shewn by his Subjects, had given him the firmest Assurance that they were resolved to act with a Spirit becoming a Time of common Danger.

“ I have,” continued he, “ through the whole Course of my Reign, made the Laws of the Land the Rule of my Government, and the Preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, and the Rights of my People, the main End and Aim of all my Actions. It is there-
“ fore

“ fore the more astonishing, that any of
“ my Protestant Subjects, who have known
“ and enjoy’d the Benefits resulting from
“ thence, and have heard of the imminent
“ Dangers these Kingdoms were wonder-
“ fully delivered from at the happy Revo-
“ lution, should by any Arts and Manage-
“ ment be deluded into Measures, that must
“ at once destroy their Religion and Liber-
“ ties, introduce Popery and arbitrary Pow-
“ er, and subject them to a foreign Yoke.
“ He declared himself sensibly affected with
“ the extraordinary Burthen which the At-
“ tempt must bring upon his faithful Sub-
“ jects: And concludes with assuring, that
“ the Interest of him and his People was
“ always the same, and that whoever hear-
“ tily and vigorously exerted themselves in
“ the national Cause, might depend on his
“ Favour and Protection.”

Next Day, the Lords presented their Ad-
dress, in which, after the usual Introduction,
they declar’d, that they “ wanted Words
“ to express the just Indignation and Ab-
“ horrence rising in their Breasts, at so
“ wicked, traiterous, and desperate an At-
“ tempt in Favour of a Popish Pretender
“ to his Crown, whose groundless Claim
“ they had unfeignedly abjured, and whose
“ Principles and Designs they did, from
“ the Bottom of their Hearts, detest and ab-
“ hor;

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“hor; then very gratefully acknowledged
“his paternal Regard for the Laws; that
“they were resolved to hazard their Lives
“and Fortunes in Defence of his sacred
“Person and Government, and that they
“would concur in all such Measures as
“might most effectually conduce to extin-
“guish the Rebellion, to deter any foreign
“Power from presuming to support it, to
“restore the Tranquillity of his Govern-
“ment, and to add Strength to that excel-
“lent Constitution which the flagitious At-
“tempt was intended to subvert.”

The Commons presented an Address in
Terms to the same Purpose, assur'd him of
having “his Hands strengthened by effectual
“Supplies, for supporting his sacred Person
“and Government, which from every Con-
“sideration, human and divine, they were
“bound to defend.”

On *Monday* the 21st, they empowered
the King to secure and detain such Persons
as he should suspect of conspiring against
his Person and Government. On the 23^d,
a Motion was made in the House of Com-
mons, for calling Home the Remainder of
his *British* Forces for the suppressing the
Rebellion; but the previous Question being
put, Whether this Vote should at present
be stated, it was carried in the Negative; at
this the Disaffected conceived great Hopes,
tho

tho' indeed they were groundless; for already there were in *England* 36,000 regular Troops, and to call Home any more, wou'd have been to answer the Design of *France* entirely. On the 4th of *November*, 1,298,000 *l.* 4 *s.* 9 *d.* was granted for paying 49,229 effective Men for the Year 1746. And 64,365 *l.* 13 *s.* for paying the fifteen Regiments commanded by the Noblemen formerly named, for 122 Days from the Time of their being raised, and 13,176 *l.* 10 *s.* for the Pay of the two Regiments of Horse for the same Time, and in the same Way, and 35,252 *l.* 19 *s.* was appropriated for maintaining the twenty Independent Highland Companies for 361 Days. And upon the 24th, the King was impowered to raise what of the *English* Militia he thought fit.

From these one may observe the Difference betwixt King *George* II. and King *James* II. or VII. the former so famous for his Mildness and other Virtues, was regaled and admired in Time of Danger, as the beautiful Head of the Constitution, whence, as from a Fountain, Honours are derived, the Ornament of his Kingdoms, the Darling of his Subjects, and Delight of his Family, who all join'd, as it were, to sacrifice themselves for his Welfare; whereas the other was a Disgrace to his Country, abhorred by his Subjects, despised by the Popish Powers,

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Powers, yea, by the Pope himself, and deserted by his Children; and tho' he had conferred upon some, great Places, which the worst of Men, if a King, has at his Disposal, yet the most of these, ashamed of his Conduct, relinquished his Cause.

On the 18th, the Duke of *Cumberland* arrived at St. *James's* from *Flanders*, having set out from *Brussels* on the 14th, and on the 25th were landed four Troops of Sir *John Ligonier's* Regiment of Dragoons, the Detachment of Foot Guards, who served at *Ostend*, Lieutenant-General *Sinclair's* Battalion of Foot, Lieutenant-General *Harrison's*, Major-General *Husk's*, and Lord *Harry Beauclerc's* Regiments of Foot, who not a little quieted the Minds of the Nation, and particularly the Princess of *Wales*, who from the Tears incident to her Sex, and now doubling upon her, from a Concern for her Husband, and the amiable Pledges of her Wedlock, and a Child that was yet unborn, had almost refus'd to be comforted, even with the Necessaries of Life. On the 27th, she was delivered of Prince *Henry Frederic*, on which the Parliament complimented the King. As this Increase of his Family was most agreeable to all, except the Rebels and their Abettors, so it was an Evidence how much he reigned in the Hearts, as well as over the Persons of his Subjects, and a Confirmation

futation of the Bishop of *Rennes's* Assertion at *Madrid*, that the People of *Britain* were ripe for a Revolt. On the 30th, his Birth-Day was kept with an uncommon Gaiety thro' *England*; but in *Scotland*, the Rebels observed it with Derision, as at *Dores* nigh *Inverness*, where they made a Bonfire of the Minister's Firing, and drank the most shocking Healths; however, in many Places the usual Honours were paid; the Castle of *Edinburgh* display'd the Union Flag, and at Mid-day discharged a Round from her great Guns, which were answered by Vollies from the Garrison, then under Arms, and by the Ships in *Leith* Road; while some met in Taverns, where Entertainments were prepared, and where was drank the Health of him whose Birth-Day has prov'd a Joy to Millions.

Though the Towns of *England* were not all capable of a Defence, yet *Berwick* was enabled to hold out against the Pretender, for Lieut. General *Handasyde* had reinforced the Garrison of that Town with eight Companies of *Price's* Foot, just upon their landing from *Flanders*, and commanded five of *Ligonier's* to remain at *Holy Island* till farther Orders. *England* was now a Seminary of Soldiers, acted by the Spirit of their King, who declared in Council, that if the Rebellion continued, he would lead his Army in Person;

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Person; the Hero, then sixty-two Years of Age, did not doubt to put to Flight the Son of him, who with the Grand Children of *Lewis XIV.* had fled from *Oudenarde* before his Standards when but twenty-five.

Field Marshal *Wade*, having been declared Commander in Chief of the Army intended for the North, moved from *Doncaster* on the 21st, with the *British* and *Dutch* Infantry, having sent his Cavalry to *York* some Days before. The Humanity shewn to the Soldiers by the Country People was inexpressible, for as one Man, they contributed with their Horses and otherways; so that upon the 28th of *October*, they arrived at *Newcastle upon Tyne*, being then about 14000 strong, and resolved to wait here, both to defend the Coal Mines, that Support of *London*, and to be ready against any Event.

His Excellency's first Care was to secure the adjacent Countries, and to dispose the Troops in proper Quarters; after which, he caused on the 30th, to be signified by Proclamation, the King's Pleasure. " That those of his
" Majesty's Subjects inhabiting the High-
" lands of *Scotland*, and others who have
" been seduced by Menaces, and Threaten-
" ings of their Chiefs and Superiors, to take
" Arms, and enter into a most unnatural
" Rebellion, should be Objects of the Royal
" Mercy, if they would return to their Ha-
" bitations

“ citations on or before the 12th of *November*; but if they slighted this Offer, they
“ were to be punished according to the De-
“ merit of their Crimes.”

This voluntary Condescension had but little Effect upon them, their Chiefs were deeply engaged, and had contracted too much Guilt to hope for the Royal Mercy; the People were kept in Ignorance of what was doing, as well as of the Hazard they run: Gracious Declarations were attributed to the Pannick which reigned among the Forces,
“ Whom have we to deal with but the Re-
“ mainder of the shattered Forces at *Fonte-*
“ *noy*, they will never face us,” was the Phrase of the Warriour, while the Politician recollecting the Words of Lord *Lovat*, said,
“ Don’t be afraid, for the greater Part of the *English* Army are but raw and undisciplined, commanded by young Rakes, who have lodged in young Lace-Womens Houses about *St. James’s*, who have spent their Substance in Revelling and Debauchery, and whose Constitution by Riot and Luxury has been wantoned away.”

These Speeches were highly pleasing to the Adventurer, who driven by a Thirst of Power, hurried by a boundless Ambition to govern, and dazzled with the first glittering Appearance of his good Fortune, pursued his Design, surrounded by a Crowd of Flatterers,
who

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who made him believe, he wanted nothing to be admired but to be seen, nothing to his being joined by Multitudes but to set up his Standard.

On *Friday* the 8th of *November*, he entered *England* with his Army, who had joined him nigh the *Eske*, lodged that Night at *Redding*; while Parties were detached to scour the Country. Next Day he came to *Langtoun* with Part of his Cavalry, having sent his Infantry to *Cannoby*, and some other Places on the *Scots* Side; and on the 10th, he appear'd on the *Moor* of *Carlisle*, that antient *English* Barrier against the Invasions of the *Scots*. Here he waited for his Cannon, and the Remainder of his Forces, which last brought the mortifying News, that thirty four of their Waggon had been left behind, and secured by the Militia of the County, then in Arms for the Government: Without hesitating a Moment, he sent *Geobegan*, a *French* Officer, with the following Summons, which was answered only from the Cannon on the Walls.

CHARLES

CHARLES *Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdom of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.*

BEING come to recover the King our Father's just Rights, for which we are arrived with all his Authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our Passage: We therefore, to avoid the Effusion of *English* Blood, hereby require you to open your Gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable Manner; which if you do, we shall take Care to preserve you from any Insult, and set an Example to all *England* of the Exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our Father's Declarations and our own: But if you shall refuse us Entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such Means as Providence has put into our Hands, and then it will not perhaps be in our Power to prevent the fatal Consequences which usually attend a Town's being taken by Assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your Answer within the Space of two Hours; for we shall take any further Delay as a peremptory Refusal, and take our Measures accordingly.

*Nov. 10, 1745. Two in the Afternoon.
For the Mayor of Carlisle.*

As

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As the Body of his Army had encamped on *Brampton Muir*, eight Miles to the *East* of *Carlisle*, to observe General *Wade*, his Letter would have proved but an impotent Menace, if they had not been recalled; which done, a small Party marched back on the 13th with several Falcines and scaling Ladders, which they had made of the Wood cut in *Corby* and *Warwick* Parks, and at Night arrived near the Town; next Day they appeared before it, and began to break Ground within 300 Paces of the *Scots* Gate, when a continual Fire from the Batteries drove them back; and perhaps they had been so disheartned, as not to trouble themselves further, had not a thick Mist favoured their Approaches; for under its Cover they advanced with some Country People, whom they obliged to dig a Trench toward the *English* Gate as the most defenceless. All without Distinction advanced the Works, and *Pertb*, the Commander of the Siege, wrought in his Shirt as the meanest Labourer. *Carlisle* was attacked in three Places at once; which when the Centries saw, upon clearing up of the Sky, these in Surprise spread the Consternation among the Inhabitants, who were almost confounded at the News: The Fear of an Assault, and being put to the Sword by those of whom they had formed but too just an Idea, sunk them into Despair.

Numbers leapt over the Wall, which is about five Foot broad, and six Foot high, crossed the Ditch, which is of the same Breadth with the Wall; they generally escaped, tho' some fell into the Hands of the Enemy. The Militia being shut up in a Town where they were fatigued by watching for seven Days, and seven Nights, and the Inhabitants almost killed with the Apprehension of a Massacre, desired a Meeting. The Mayor, Aldermen, and Citizens, convened with the Governour of the Castle, to consult about the proper Methods in this Extremity. Colonel *Durand*, who upon Trial by a Court Martial, *Sept. 16, 1746*, was honourably acquitted, gave his Opinion, that the Place might hold out, but he was overpowered by the Voices of those whose Love of Life took place of Intrepidity. The Terror of the Highlanders storming the Town Sword in Hand, in the Night Time, having raised in their Minds a Prospect of Blood, Slaughter, and Rapine, rather to be conceived than expressed, it was resolved to deliver up the Place; accordingly a white Flag was hung out, which the Enemy observing, the intended Assault was laid aside, while Deputies came out to enquire what Terms could be granted; these were told, that the Town should enjoy her Liberties, but that the Provision and Ammunition laid up for the Militia, should be delivered

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delivered in the Case they were in; and in the mean Time a Message was sent to the Chevalier, then at five Miles Distance; with the Proposal; he answered, that he was not to do Things by Halves, he must have both the Castle and the Town, or neither of them; the Garrison of the former, were by the faithful *Durand*, almost prevailed on to stand a Siege, but upon second Thoughts, they shamefully deserted over the Walls, for in one Night, of 400 Men only 80 remained, and some of these unfit for Action, so that the Governor was obliged to withdraw. In the mean Time *Perth*, who was afterward made Governor, took Possession of the Town and Castle in the Pretender's Name, about ten o'Clock on the 15th; directly secured Mr. *Pattinson*, the Mayor, who, with the Aldermen, was obliged to proceed in his Robes to the Cross, with the Mace before him, and there proclaim the Declarations of the Chevalier, and his Son, who, on the 17th entered amidst several Huzzas, attended by the *Elphinston* Troop, then under *Arthur*, afterward Lord *Balmerino*, who, hitherto only a Volunteer, appear'd at this Time in his first publick Command. About three Months Provision, Arms for the Militia, and near 200 Horses, with their Furniture were seized. In the Castle were found 1000 Stand of Arms, and many of the Swords taken at

Preston, 1715, 100 Barrels of Powder, with many valuable Effects, secured there by the Country People for several Miles round.

Thus in Opposition to the Advice of an experienced and brave Officer, did one of the strongest Cities in *England* surrender to an Enemy, who paid no more for it than the Life of one *Dalton*, an *Irish* Engineer, bred in *France*, and the Hurt of a private Man.

These Advantages, which were equal to those of a Victory, could not satisfy; the Cess, the Land-Tax and Excise, were exacted under the severest Penalties, and a Contribution was extorted from the Inhabitants upon Pain of Military Execution; the private Men committed divers Excesses, which their Commanders could not prevent.

Wade, for some Time past, had prepared to fight them, but the Rigour of the Season, their late forced Marches, and a Kind of Flux then among the Troops, retarded his Operations till the 16th, that he put them in Motion for the Relief of *Carlisle*, now in the Hands of the Enemy. He intended to decamp at Day-break; but to the Prejudice of the Expedition, by moving from the Left, the *Swiss* Troops had the Van, and they would not stir till Ten o'Clock, when the Major-Generals *Howard* and *Oglethorpe*, the Brigadiers *Cholmondley* and *Mordaunt*, marched at the Head of the Infantry,

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Infantry, in excessive cold Weather, amidst an intense Frost, and a falling Snow, which lay three Feet deep upon the Ground; about Eight at Night they arrived at *Ovington*, thro' Roads terribly broken and full of Ice, in which some of the Foot of the last Column had dropt thro' Fatigue, and might have died without Remedy, had not Major-Generals *Husk* and *Oglethorpe* hired Countrymen with Lights and Carts to bring them up. They were employed in this Service till Nine the next Morning, when the Forces continued their March for *Hexam*, which the first Line entered about Four in the Afternoon, and the Rear at Midnight. Here the Marshal being assured of the Fate of *Carlisle*, resolved to return; and on the 22d arrived at *Newcastle*, thro' Roads almost impassable, with an Army spent with Fatigue, and enraged at their Disappointment; for these brave Troops, except the *Swiss*, wanted at one Blow, to put an End to the Rebellion, and with it to their own Labours, Marches, and Midnight Toils.

The Magistrates and Towns People received them with a Tenderness adapted to the Circumstances wherein they were; the Malt-Houses, Publick Halls, and other empty Buildings, were warmed and fitted up, while such as appeared most shattered, were quartered in private Houses, and kindly en-

tertained at the Proprietor's Charge. In
 two Days they were revived, and on the
 24th, agreeable to the Resolution of a Coun-
 cil of War, began their March Southward
 in Quest of the Enemy. These, after leav-
 ing a Garrison of 450 Men, had, about Ten
 in the Morning of the 20th, set out for *Pen-
 rith*, where they halted till the 22d, when
 they marched for *Kendal*, advanced to *Lan-
 caster* on the 24th, and reached *Preston* on
 the 26th, proclaiming their Leader as they
 went, amidst the Acclamations of his Party.
 Here the *Chevalier*, who marched on Foot,
 mounted on Horseback, and surveyed the
 adjacent Country, while the Army were vi-
 gorously collecting the Publick Money, and
 shewing a Resentment against that Place,
 which had twice been fatal to those of their
 Way; once in 1648, when the Duke of
Hamilton was defeated, and taken Prisoner
 by *Oliver Cromwell*; and in 1715, when
 the Earls of *Derwentwater*, *Nithisdale*, *Win-
 toun*, *Carnwath*, and several others, were ta-
 ken Prisoners by General *Willes*. On the
 28th, they marched to *Wiggan*, *Leigh*, and
 the adjacent Villages.

The Neighbourhood of the Enemy threw
 the Western Counties into a Consternation,
 and the Towns began to provide for them-
 selves; the City of *Chester*, as the Key into
Wales, was, by the Vigilance of the Earl
 of

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of *Cholmondley*, put into a Posture of Defence, and its Bridge was broke down; at *Liverpool* the Inhabitants secured their valuable Effects in the Ships then in the Road; which Precautions had such an Influence, that on the 29th they turned Eastward to *Manchester*, where their Cavalry arrived by Ten in the Morning, and the Pretender at the Head of his Infantry about two in the Afternoon. Next Day, they beat up for Volunteers. Some *Roman* Catholicks and Nonjurors engaged with them; but to their great Disappointment, no Person of Rank or Distinction came in. However, they formed the *Manchester* Regiment of Horse, whose Livery was blue Cloaths, Hangers, a Plaid Sash, and white Cockade; and for which they beat up for Recruits as they passed along, making free with the best Horses they could find to mount them. The Commander of that new Corps, was the unfortunate *Francis Townley*, a Gentleman of great Courage and Activity, but who in his Youth had imbibed the *Romish* Religion, and served in the Armies of *France*. Their Quarter-Master was one *Thomas Cappock*, a Presbyter of the Church of *England*, who as a further Encouragement to the Clergy to join, was without any Formality or *Conge d'Elire*, declared Bishop of *Carlisle*, where with the Regiment he was left on the Re-

treat of his new Master. At *Manchester* the Bellman was seized, and sent about with Orders to all such as had publick Money, to bring it in, and in the Evening he intimated, that the Place should be illuminated, which last was partly obeyed, and was of good Service to the Rear of the Army, as it was Night before they could enter.

On the 1st of *December*, a Party of them made a Feint of marching to *Stockport*, and another Westward to *Knotsford*, having crossed the *Mersey* in different Places, tho' then very rapid, and swollen by the Rain; the Cavalry forded it, while the Foot and Artillery passed over Bridges of Poplar and Plank, which the Country People were compell'd to cut down, and lay across for that Purpose: In the mean while the Pretender arrived at *Macclesfield* with 5000 Men, and the Artillery about two in the Afternoon, and next Morning sent the Van to *Congleton*, where they received Intelligence, that the main Body of the Duke's Army of 12700 Men, mostly veteran Regiments, was at *Newcastle under Line*, nine Miles South and by West of them.

For on the 16th of *November*, the King had ordered three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and fifteen of Foot, to march into *Lancaster*, to oppose the Progress of the Enemy; Lieutenant General Sir *John Ligonier*,

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neir, a Native of *France*, but a zealous Protestant, had set out on the 21st to command them; *Stafford* was the Place of their Rendezvous; as they advanced, our Deliverer begged of his Royal Father, to be admitted to put himself at the Head of the Forces, and having with Difficulty obtained his Request, he set out about One in the Morning of the 26th, and in three Days arrived at *Stafford*, between which Place and *Tamworth*, the Army was cantoned with the Cavalry in Front. He no sooner appeared among them, than the Hills and Valleys repeated their Huzzas; his heroic and unaffected Mein, his easy Greatness, and martial Countenance, revived them; and raised in them a Confidence of Victory; and as they had a sufficient Train of Artillery, and every other Thing proper for them, and their Leader more than all at their Head; forgetful of their Toils, they wait to obey his Orders. His Highness hearing that the Enemy designed for *Congleton*, commanded that part of the Cavalry which was posted at *Newcastle under Line*, to retreat to *Stone*, till the Infantry should come up; here he watched their Motions, and observing, that they were too far to the East of him, the better to intercept them in their Route to *London*, he marched his Army to the South-East, along the Road from *Chester* to *London*, entered *Coventry* upon the 6th of

December, with all his Horse, and two Battalions of Foot, having ordered his other Forces to encamp upon *Merriden Common*, where the Flannel Waistcoats, the Gift of the Quakers, were arrived. This Step effectually disconcerted the Policy of *O Sullivan*, who with the utmost Secrecy managed the March of the Enemy, for turn which Way they will, our Deliverer was alert to attack them.

The Pretender having Intelligence of the Motions of the King's Troops, of their Alacrity under their Royal Leader, and their Eagerness to fight under his Eye, endeavoured Circumspection; he marched the Van to *Ashburn*, and the main Body of his Army to *Leek*, and all of a sudden turned to *Derby*, which he entered on the Morning of the 4th, with 450 Horse, and 2300 Foot, the rest in order to appear more numerous, continuing to enter, till late, when their Artillery and Baggage did arrive.

The Suddenness of their Approach, surprized the People of the Town, who retired in such Confusion, that the Clerk in a Hurry left upon a Buroe, the Roll of those who subscribed for Sums in the Government's Service. The Paper falling into their Hands, the different Quotas, and publick Money were rigorously collected; and at Night was held a Council of War, in which the Question was, proceed forward, or retreat? The Reason-

Reasoning was tedious and long, but nothing then was concluded : Next Day after Dinner the Question was resumed ; the Chevalier was so eager upon fighting, that he was ready to cry. *Clanranald*, and *Clunie Mac Pherfon*, joined him ; but *Perth*, Lord *Pitsligo*, and the other Leaders, were unanimous against it. “ I’m told, said *Perth*, that the Elector is to “ raise his Standard at *Finchley Common*, and “ the Advantage of being in Possession of “ *London*, is known from the Case of *Edward IV.* should we fight the Duke of “ *Cumberland*, the Fortune of War is doubtful, should we pass him, which may be “ done, yet we have another Army to encounter before we arrive at *St. James’s* ; “ in case of a Defeat, we shall be exposed to “ the Rage of the Country People ; let us “ not then bring certain Destruction upon “ ourselves, and an indelible Stain upon the “ *Scottish* Nation, who when unanimous, “ never marched so far as we have done : “ We will conduct you back, turning to the “ Chevalier, and by an honourable Retreat, “ secure that Safety, and that Character, of “ both which, the rash adventuring forward “ bids fair to deprive us.”

This Reasoning was just, for in case they did escape the Duke, they would be put between the Fire of his Army, and of that formed under the Eye of the Earl of *Stair*,

which was composed of the Guards, Lord *John Murray's* old Highland Regiment, two Troops of *Ligonier's* Horse, and the Remains of Sir *Robert Rich's* Regiment of Dragoons, with those of Lieut. Gen. *Halley*, who on the 1st, had arrived in the *Thames*, from *Williamstadt*. The Associated Regiment of the Law, for the Defence of the Royal Family, and the Preservation of the Constitution in Church and State, made up of the Gentlemen of the Gown, under the Command of Lord Chief Justice *Willes*, entered here upon the first Rudiments of a Winter Campaign; there was a large Train of Artillery, consisting of 33 Field Pieces, and 48 covered Waggon, 20 Chests of Arms, and 240 Matrosses, under the Direction of Captain *Speedwell*, an Officer of 55 Years Experience; the Lieutenancy of *London* directed, that two Regiments of the Trained Bands, should be out every Night, and one in the Day-time, and several wealthy Citizens, enlisted as Volunteers, in the first Regiment of Foot Guards, while all the publick and private Effects of the City, began to be packed up, to be safe against the worst of Events.

But the Difficulties he had to encounter on Land, were no less discouraging than his Disappointments; for some of the Transports from *France* had been driven back, and others taken, as on the 25th of *November*, the *Soleil*.
Priva-

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Privateer, on Board of which was Mr. *Charles Radcliff*, and his Son, eleven Captains, ten Lieutenants, and sixty private Men. The Crew were sent to *Dover* Castle, and the remaining Prisoners distributed in the several Men of War of Admiral *Vernon's* Squadron, but the Officers were conducted to the Tower, where Apartments were fitted up for them, young Mr. *Radcliff* being taken for the second Son of the Pretender, now Cardinal *Steuart*, who was then in *France*, amused with Promises.

On these, and other Accounts, the whole were brought into *Pertb's* Sentiments; however, they artfully concealed their Designs, by rubbing up their Arms, as if intending to fight, while a small Party was detached to the *Trent*, to repair the Bridge that had been broke down, and to lay others for passing over the Troops, as if they designed to march forward, to their Adherents in *London*, who in Expectation of their Approach, had privately dropt the Pretender's Declarations at *St. James's* upon the Parade, while others, less prudent, were for malicious Expressions taken into Custody, and received an Arbitrary Punishment for their ill tim'd Zeal; however, they continued in high Spirits till the Arrival of an Express, that their Friends had retreated; on which the Cannon sent to the Camp returned, the King's advancing to it was

was deferred, the Orders given to the Troops were countermanded, the Day Duty of the trained Bands was discontinued, and the Volunteers were dismissed; these had passed in Review before the King, and Earl of *Stair*, thro' *St. James's* Park, with their Wives and Children before them, to signify that all was at Stake; and that they were determined to fight *pro aris et focis*.

On the 6th of *December*, at ten of the Morning, after several Feints, the Rebels began their March from *Derby*, with their Cavalry in Front, and 13 Pieces of Cannon in the Center; some seeming to move to *Loughborough*, entered that Place, and plundered it of what was valuable, while others kept on the *Asbburn* Side: When about a Mile from Town, they halted till near four, and then went off, their Carriages being on full Trot, and their Foot almost running. While here, not content with their former Demands, they sent a Party to require a large Sum of Money, which by Force they obtained.

Notwithstanding this Device, which kept their true Intent a perfect Secret, yet that very Night, the Duke had an Account of their March; by three next Morning he put himself at the Head of all the Horse and Dragoons, and a thousand Volunteers mounted till the Foot should come up, and sent Expresses every where to the Militia to intercept

tercept them, but this could not be so easily done, as these had hitherto retired before them, and because their Motions were so quick and uncertain, their Designs so intricate and dark.

However, the Places on which they were supposed to have an Eye, were put in a Posture of Defence. The Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Granby*, the Earls of *Cholmondley*, and *Warrington*, with the Lord *Gower*, repaired to *Chester*, to stop their advancing into *Wales*, while the *Liverpool* Battalion of 700 Men, was ordered to take Post at *Warrington*; these picked up about sixteen Stragglers, who afterward were sent to different Goals. A thousand new raised Foot were dispatched to *Newcastle* to prevent their coming there, or if they came to keep them in play till the Troops should come up; these, and indeed the whole Militia, were very eager in the Service of the Government, and willing to fight the Rebels, but their Leaders being Men of Experience, considering that they could not be defeated, without the Loss of some useful Lives, they were referr'd to a more able Avenger, who, with his Cavalry and Foot, mounted on Horses supplied by the Country People, was now in full pursuit of them.

On the 8th they were at *Macclesfield*, and next Day at *Manchester*, where they levied

16000 l.

16000 *l.* and committed 13000 *l.* of Damages; on the 10th they marched to *Wigan*, and on the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th: On the 13th they made the longest March during this Chase, and arrived at *Lancaster*, where they halted the 14th; but having Intelligence that the Troops were gaining Ground of them, they continued their Flight from the Duke, who about eleven of the Night of the 10th, arrived at *Maclesfield* from *Litchfield*, with two Regiments of Dragoons, having marched about forty Miles in two Days, thro' terrible Roads by *Utoxeter*, and *Cheadle*; and about an Hour after the Foot arrived, being provided with Horses by the Gentlemen of *Staffordshire*: After four Hours Repose, they began their March for *Manchester*, which they entered upon the 12th, amidst repeated Huzzas, Bonfires, Illuminations, and other Demonstrations of Joy; by three next Morning they were in Motion, and marched so hastily, that the Van reached *Preston*, about four Hours after the Rebels had quitted the Town; the first who entered were the *Georgia* Rangers, soon after a Party of the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, commanded by Lieutenant Col. *Mordaunt*, and the Captains Lord *Byron*, and Lord *Robert Mannors*; 'twas here General *Oglethorpe* joined the Duke's Army with 1000 Horse, which were composed of *St George's*

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George's Dragoons, the Duke of *Montague's* Horse, and those of Mareschal *Wade*.

That Officer had on the 24th of *November* marched by the Way of *Durham*, *Darlington*, and *Richmond*, in order to cover *Yorkshire*: On the 28th he was at *Pers-Bridge*, whence he moved to *Wetherby*, where his Troops halted the 5th of *December*, and received their Bread from *Leeds*, as also Shoes, Stockings, and Flannel Waistcoats from *London*; from *Wetherby* he turned Eastward to *Ferry-Bridge*, where he arrived on the 9th, as did the Cavalry at *Doncaster*; it was at this last Place, that Accounts were brought of the Retreat of the Enemy, for intercepting of whom, *Wade* resolved to march by the Way of *Wakefield* and *Hallifax*, into *Lancashire*; but getting Intelligence that they had slipt him, he marched back with his Foot in several Divisions, and that they might be under Cover every Night by Reason of the freezing Winds, the chilling Frosts, and almost continual Snows, he took the Rout of *Northallerton*, *Darlington* and *Durham*, and arrived at *Newcastle* on the 20th of *December*, having detached General *Oglethorpe*, as is already observed. The Troops under him had marched from *Doncaster*, and in three Days made about 100. measured Miles over Snow and Ice, either to come up with the Enemy,

or

or to join the Duke of *Cumberland*, by whom that March was literally paralleled.

The Rangers were immediately sent after the Enemy, what had halted at *Lancaster* on the 14th, till the whole of their Troops should come up; by two in the Afternoon, they got a Sight of the Rebels Rear, and two of them riding beyond the rest were taken Prisoners.

That Day, about Ten in the Forenoon, *Perth*, who thought nothing of riding down three Horses in a Day, for Intelligence, reached *Kendal* with an hundred Hussars, and whence, after halting for a little Refreshment, he went on; but as the Rear of his Corps was entering upon the Bridge, some Country People being there at a Market, mobbed them. One of them was killed by a Musket from a Window, and two taken Prisoners. On this the Party faced about, when as many as the Bridge could give Room to, fired upon the Mob, of whom a Shoemaker and Ostler were killed, on which they dispersed, after the Rebels had discharged a general Volley, but at too great a Distance to do Harm. This being over, they posted to *Shap*, where on the 16th they arrived.

The Day after the Affair of *Kendal*, the whole Body of the Rebels came into that Town, where hearing that one of their
Hussars.

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Hussars were slain, and two taken Prisoners, they breathed nothing but Revenge; the Cels and Publick Money were demanded, under Penalty of the severest Military Execution. With the utmost Difficulty could the Magistrates pacify the Chieftains, by representing the Innocence of the Inhabitants, and that in a Publick Market, Offenders must be unknown. As *Lochiel* came at last to understand the Matter, the Contributions were abated, tho' a great Sum was levied; and on their Departure, their last Rank plundered some Houses, stript some People of their Shoes, and attempted to fire a Lodging, but the Match did not take. On the 16th, their main Body marched for *Shap*, but the Rear-Guard halted at a Farm, four Miles from *Kendal*, to prepare small Carts for carrying their Ammunition, which could not be got forward over steep Hills, and thro' a bad Road, upon their four-wheel'd Wagons, that were mostly broken down. Next Night these arrived at *Shap*, while the Bulk of them marched with the young Adventurer, to *Peurith*, where in the Evening they were joined by the Rear-Guard.

While General *Anstruther* is advancing from *Coventry* to *London*, with Col. *Sowles*, and *Skelton's* Regiments of Foot, which composed the first Division of his Royal High-

nets's.

ness's Army, while M. *Wade* is marching his Troops in different Divisions toward *Newcastle upon Tyne*; and while the Army is forming upon the *Kentish* Coast where a Descent was apprehended, the Duke came up with the Enemy upon the 18th at Night, with his Cavalry, after an uninterrupted March of ten Hours.

The Rebels being continually alarmed by the Approach of the Light Horse, had sent a Party thro' Lord *Lonsdale's* Parks of *Lowthar*, thinking to find some of these who had harrassed them about his House, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the County of *Cumberland*. Some of them were seen, but then at too great a Distance to receive any Loss. In their Progress, they took a Running Footman belonging to his Royal Highness, and a Gentleman of the County whom they called an Officer: From these they were informed, that the Duke was within a Mile of them, with about 4000 Horse and Dragoons, besides Light Horse and Militia; on which they abandoned *Lowtherhall* to make a Stand against him. Accordingly, Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the Rear Guard, took Possession of the Village of *Clifton*, a Mile to the North of Lord *Lonsdale's* Seat, upon the high Way to, and two Miles short

short of *Penrith*, he sent Colonel Roy * *Steu-*
art's Regiment, and *Clunie's* Battalion to the
 Bottom of the *Muir*, while the *Mac Donalds*
 of *Keppoch* stood at a little Distance to wait
 the Event; they fortified themselves behind
 three Hedges and a Ditch: It was now about
 an Hour after Sunset, when the King's
 Troops appeared upon the open *Muir* with
 their Leader, who directly ordered three
 hundred of Col. *Honeywood's* Dragoons to
 dismount, and march forward to attack the
 Enemy: They advanced to the very Brink
 of the Ditch, when the *Rebels* fired from be-
 hind the Hedges and killed a few; on which
 the Troops fired some Platoons, and then
 retired a few Paces: The Enemy taking this
 for the Beginning of a Flight, crossed the
 Ditch with incredible Swiftneſs, and ruſhed
 on with Sword and Piſtol in Hand, but were
 ſo well received, that ſome of them lay dead
 upon the Spot. The Dragoons who had
 drawn their Swords, were now ready to pay
 them in their own Coin: The Shouts begin,
 the Clashing of Swords was heard; ſome of
 the Rebels Swords broke upon the Steel Caps
 which the Cavalry commonly wear, on which
 they drew their Daggers and fought with great
 Obſtinacy for an Hour; when obſerving the
 Rebels were ſo much ſlaughtered, they reſo-

* In *Iriſh* red, ſo called from his Infancy for the
 Redneſs of his Hair.

Resolution of the Forces, they returned with as much Precipitation across the Ditch, as at first they came on, and with full Speed carried the Consternation to *Penrith*, where the Body of their Army, with the Artillery and Baggage was arrived. Such was the Skirmish at *Clifton*, in which, about twelve of the Dragoons were killed, and twenty-four wounded, among whom, Col. *Honeywood*, Captain *East*, and the Coronets *Owen* and *Hamilton*: On the Side of the Rebels were slain about twenty Men, and seventy taken Prisoners, among whom, Captain *George Hamilton* of *Redbouse*, who then commanded in the Absence of *Roy Stewart*; he had fallen upon the Ground by some Accident, and recovering himself, was just sitting up when an Hussar coming by, struck him upon the *Vertebrae* of the Neck so that he fell back, with these Words, "Oh, I am kill'd!" the Hussar dismounted, took his Money out of his Pocket, with his Watch, and then left him, till the County People who had known his Severity, tyed up his Head with a Handkerchief, and delivered him a Prisoner; he was mounted upon an Horse, with his Legs tyed below its Belly, and directly sent into *Goal*: As the Rebels who had not advanced, carried off their killed and wounded on the other Side of the Ditch, the same could not be certainly known; they gave out that

that they only lost twelve Men who run up the *Muir*, whereas his Royal Highness wrote to the King, that 70 of them were taken Prisoners, besides those who were wounded and killed: The only Thing the Enemy had to boast of, was, that they took some broad Swords from the Dragoons, but from the best Information, I find these only amounted to seven, which were taken up as they first leap'd over the Ditch, when the Troops retired, or were seized from the wounded Officers formerly named.

Being driven from the Village, and come to *Penrith*, a Council of War was held, where *Roy Steuart* was for marching back, and surprizing the Dragoons in the Night Time, or by Day-Break next Morning, before the Foot had arrived; but Lord *George Murray*, was not for diminishing the Forces by Skirmishes, but for pursuing their Rout, and joining Lord *John Drummond*, who had landed from *Dunkirk* with a Regiment of 600 Men at *Montrose*: He was afterward joined by a like Body of the Duke of *Gordon's* Vassals, then under his Brother Lord *Lewis*, the *Frazer's* under the Master of *Lovat*, the *Farquharson's*, under *Francis Farquharson* of *Monaltry*, the *Chisholms* of *Strathglass*, under their Chieftain's youngest Son, two Battalions of the *Mac Intosh's*, raised by the Lady *Mac Intosh*, whose Husband was a Captain in the Service

Service of the Government; these were commanded by *Mac Gillivray* of *Drumnaglass*, one of the Branches of the *Catts*, in all about 2500 Men.

Next Day their whole Army marched for *Carlisle*, where that Night they arrived, and next Morning being the *Ghevalier's* Birth Day, he was complimented by the Officers, and his Army drawn up upon the *Muir* in *Battalia*, where they continued under Arms till about twelve o'clock, giving out, that they were resolved to fight the Duke's Army before the Arrival of the Artillery; but on hearing that the Foot and Artillery were fast approaching, they drew off with Pipes playing and Colours flying, leaving at *Carlisle* a Garrison of about 400 Men, consisting chiefly of the *English* that joined them, and some few *Scots* under the Command of *John Hamilton*, the Duke of *Gordon's* Factor, with a proper Train of Artillery, and a promise of returning with greater Force in eight Days.

By two o'clock they came up to *Langtown*, where they crossed the *Esq*, then about four Feet deep, and not very rapid as the Tide was in. The Cavalry entered the Water with the Hussars in Front, and the Pretender in the Center, with a Boy belonging to *Kep-pock* behind him: When half Way through, he observed two People giving Way, and seizing them by the Hair, cried out in *Irish*,
Coaer,

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Coaer, Help, Help, and so these were relieved; *Perth* being better mounted than the rest, crossed the Water several Times, and brought off a Person every Time he went: The Infantry, with Lord *George Murray* at their Head, arrived safe to the other Side, by keeping hold of each other, according to the Direction of the Country People, and of some Drovers who were among them.

Scarce were they in *Scotland*, when they divided into Parties, the *Chevalier* with 4000 marching to *Annan*, and the other of 2500 to *Ecclefechan* where they rested. Next Day Lord *Elcho* was sent with 500 Horse to *Dumfries*, where he levied the Excise, and imposed on the Town a Contribution of 2000 *l.* a thousand Pair of Shoes; seized nine Casks of Gunpowder, all Arms publick and private, Horses and Horse Furniture, while the private Men among them committed above 4000 *l.* Damages in the Country, by plundering Houses, robbing People on the Highway, stripping others of their Shoes, and Body Clothes: Near 1100 *l.* was instantly paid by the Magistrates who on Remonstrance, were told, that they might be glad their Town was not laid in Ashes, considering their Association, and seizing of their Waggons.

Next Day the Pretender, the *French* Ambassador, *Perth*, *Locheol*, and *Clanranald*,

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Kep-

Keppoch, and *Glengary*, went by the Way of this pillaged Town, while the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, Lord *George Murray*, Lords *Ogilvie*, *Nairn*, and *Pitsligo*, took the *Moffatt Road*; they intended to march to *Edinburgh*, but hearing that General *Guest* had caused an Intimation to be made from the Pulpits, that he designed to keep the Town out against them, till the Arrival of the Troops, they directed their Rout to *Glasgow*; the two Bodies joined at *Hamiltoun*, where the Chevalier put up in the Duke's Palace, and as his Cellars were well stored with Wine, they continued here two Nights, and on the 25th, the Van of their Army entered the City, and next Evening, the Pretender came in with the Main Body. Here, upon considering the various Scenes, they declared themselves well pleased with General *Cope*, for suffering them to pass from Desarts and Wilds, by which Step they entered *Perth*, crossed the *Forth*, gained the City of *Edinburgh*, and obtained a compleat Victory at *Preston Pans*. They likewise applauded General *Wade*, for suffering them to get Possession of *Carlisle*, and to pass and repass into *England* unmolested; while they were enraged at the Earl of *Stair*, for his Care to form a Camp at that Time, upon *Finchley Common*; but indeed the Duke of *Cumberland* was the most bitterly complained of, for having given them so great a
Disap-

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Disappointment ; for now they were obliged to dress their *Christmas* Goose at *Glasgow*, which their Leader, and their own Imagination, had so long fed them with the Hopes of eating at *St. James's* !

The End of the FOURTH BOOK.



K 2

THE



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N ,
M D C C X L V a n d M D C C X L V I .

B O O K V .

C O N T E N T S .

The Taking of Carlisle; the State of Affairs in Scotland, and the Southern Parts of England, with the Conduct of Admirals Vernon, Boscawen and Knowles; the Action at Inverury; and the Siege of Sterling Castle.

TH E Duke of Cumberland not being able to pursue his Advantage at *Clifton* through Grounds covered with Snow, Roads broken with Ice, and Darkness which was the greatest Difficulty, rested his Troops that Night, and next Morning set out for,
and

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and entered *Penrith* with all his Forces: Here were to be seen the melancholy Vestiges of Revenge; four Shops having been broken, vast Quantities of Goods carry'd off, some thrown upon the Streets, torn and destroyed, as a Punishment to the Owners, for being concerned in the Riot at *Kendal* on the *Saturday* before; some of their Neighbours having informed against them. From the Sight of this dismal Scene, he began his March on the 21st for *Carlisle*, which he reached about one in the Afternoon, and at a Miles Distance surrounded it: Major General *Bland*, investing it on the *Scots* Side, with *St George's* Dragoons, and three hundred of *Bligh's* Regiment, to prevent any Passage over the Bridge of the *Eden*; Major *Adams* in the Suburbs of the *English* Gate; Major *Meirac* at the *Irish* Gate, and Lieutenant Colonel Sir *Andrew Agnew*, at the Sally Port with 300 Men; the Duke himself rode round the Place, tho' sometimes Balls lighted within a Yard of his Horse's Head, as the Garrison fired upon all in their View.

Mr. *Townley*, the Commandant, ordered the Guns to be mounted upon the Walls, the Houses within Reach of the Batteries to be burnt, and several *Chevaux de Frize* to be fixed at the Gates and Entrance of the City, to prevent the Approach of the Horse. He

was for making Sallies on the King's Troops, but in this last he was opposed.

His Royal Highness observing the Posture of the City, and that it might cost some Lives to take it by Assault, without proper Artillery, sent to *Whitehaven* for some battering Pieces; accordingly, four of eighteen Pounders arrived upon the 24th, and six of the same Size upon the 25th: No sooner were these up, than the Royalists began to erect Batteries, notwithstanding a continued Fire from the Walls, and by the 28th, one of six Pieces was finished, from which they play'd upon the four Gun Battery of the Town; but next Day the Firing ceased for want of Shot till towards Evening, when a fresh Supply arrived, and the Fire being renewed with great Briskness for two Hours, caused the utmost Consternation among the Inhabitants, who in the most supplicant Manner, appeared before the Commandant, beseeching him to think of preserving their Lives; he went directly to *Hamilton*, Governor of the Castle, to consult what was proper to be done. A Capitulation was proposed, to which *Hamilton* agreed; two Letters were immediately written, and a Man sent with them; who being brought to the Duke by an advanced Party, delivered the one directed to his Royal Highness, and the other for the Commander of the *Dutch* Troops, supposed to be with his

his Army, signed *Geobegan*, "Commander
" of the *French* Artillery, and of the *French*
" Garrison that was at, or might come to
" *Carlisle*, for defence of the Town and Cita-
" del." The Contents were to summon the
Dutch Officer, to retire with his Troops from
the *English* Army, under Pretence of the Ca-
pitulation of *Tournay*.

The Night of the 29th was spent in
raising a new Battery of three 18 Pounders,
which was compleated by the Morning;
when the old Battery fired a Platoon, as an
Earnest of what was to follow; this menac-
ing Aspect soon intimidated the Garrison,
who directly hung out a White Flag, and
called over the Walls, that they had two
Hostages ready to be delivered at the *English*
Gate which is on the opposite Side: On this,
Lord *Bury*, and Col. *Conway*, were ordered
to deliver the two following Messages in
Writing;

" I. His Royal Highness will make no
Exchange of Hostages with Rebels, and de-
sires they will let him know by me, what
they mean by hanging out the white Flagg.

II. To let the *French* Officer know if there
is any in the Town, that there are no *Dutch*
Troops here, but enough of the King's to
chastise the Rebels, and those who dare to
give them any Assistance."

In about two Hours they brought a written Paper, signed by “*John Hamilton*, in Name of himself, and of all the Officers and Soldiers of the Garrison,” informing that “the White Flagg was hung out on purpose to obtain a Cessation of Arms, and to know what Terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them upon Surrender of the City and Castle of *Carlisle*,” to which they received this Declaration, signed by the Duke of *Richmond*, Lieut. General.

‘All the Terms his Royal Highness will, or can grant to the Rebel Garrison of *Carlisle*, are, that they shall not be put to the Sword, but be reserved for the King’s Pleasure.’

The Terms were agreed to, the Governor and principal Officers surrendered after sending a Paper recommending themselves to the King’s Mercy, and begging the Intercession of his Royal Highness. On this Brig. *Bligh* took Possession of the Town, with 400 of the Foot Guards, 700 Marching Foot, and 100 Horse who patrolled the Streets in the Night-time.

Next Day *December 31st*, the Duke entered *Carlisle* on Horseback, amidst the Blessings of the Citizens, and the Acclamations of the Country People, who had conceived such an Opinion of him, that upon his first Appearance, they flocked in with Provisions, Tools, and

and other Necessaries, yea, and contributed with their own Hands to advance the Works against the Town; they were enamoured to see the City restored to her King, to herself, and to them; while their Satisfaction was crowned with seeing such Things as were forcibly, or otherways taken away, exposed to View, that all might receive their own on proving their Property.

In the mean Time, the Garrison was confined in the Cathedral, and a List of their Names and Designations given in; but by a special Order, were neither stript of their Money, or their Clothes; for said our Deliverer, "They will need these during their Confinement." There were here of *English*, Col. *Townley*, 5 Captains, 6 Lieutenants, 7 Ensigns, 1 Adjutant, 93 Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and private Men, with the Quarter Master *Kappoch*, Chaplain to the *Manchester* Regiment, who was to be no longer Bishop of *Carlisle*.

Of the *Scots*, Governour *Hamilton*, 6 Captains, 7 Lieutenants, one of whom, *James Nicolson* of *Perth's* Regiment, broke the Capitulation by endeavouring to escape, which Circumstance, at his Trial, not a little militated against him; 3 Ensigns, 1 Surgeon, 256 Non-commissioned Officers, Drummers, and private Men.

Of *French*, Sir *Francis Geobegan*, a Captain of *Lally's* Regiment, 1 Serjeant, with 4 private Men, Col. *Strickland*, of no Regiment, and Sir *John Arbuthnot*, a Captain in Lord *John Drummond's*; there were found 6 Guns of one and an half Pounders, three of four Pounders, one Octagon, all with Carriages, four Coehorns, and two Royals, all of Brass.

Our Deliverer after having walked round the Walls, and viewed the Fortifications, was conducted to the same House, and laid in the same Bed, where formerly the *Pretender* lay; and getting up as usual by three in the Morning, had the Pleasure about 6 Hours after, of seeing not only the general Officers and Soldiers, but the Nobility and Gentry, yea, and Multitudes, who from all Quarters repaired to him; the City of *Edinburgh* sent four Deputies, among whom, Mr. *Patrick Haldane*, now Solicitor for *Scotland*, a Gentleman of great Learning, and peculiar Address, to congratulate him on his Success, and to entreat him to honour her with a Visit, if he came to *Scotland*; they were introduced by the Earl of *Panmuir*, received in the most gracious Manner, and had the Honour to dine with him, when he drank to the Prosperity of that Town, and of the adjacent Towns; his Deportment while here was every Way princely and serene; he encouraged the People to persevere in their Loyalty,

ty, and to apply to their daily Business, for said he, "there is nothing to fear," when speaking of the Highlanders, he lamented "that so much Bravery should be misemployed, and even wished they would disband in Time, before the Forces whom he here took Occasion to commend, were too much provoked against them, and their shattered Remains should fall into the Hands of offended Justice." After settling Matters, and leaving the Command of the Troops destined for *Scotland* to General *Halley*, he set out on the 2d of *January* for *London*, where his Presence was necessary for curbing any Invasion which at that Time was expected, notwithstanding the following Precautions.

A Proclamation was issued out *December 6th*, for putting the Laws, particularly the Act of Parliament of the 27th Year of *Queen Elizabeth*, and another of the 3d of *King James I. and VI.* in Execution against Jesuits and Popish Priests, and promising a Reward of 100 *l.* for every such Person after Conviction, within *London, Westminster, the Borough of Southwark*, or within ten Miles round those Places. Upon the 11th, a Priest, and his Landlord for harbouring him, were confined in *Newgate* for remaining in *London* beyond the Time appointed.

Upon the 12th Advice came, that an Embarkation of Troops was carrying on with great Expedition at *Dunkirk*, where already were most of the Vessels for that Purpose, and that Furniture was ship'd on Board for 1000 Horses. In two Days a Proclamation was published, commanding the Wardens, Sheriffs, Mayors, Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, and other Officers, to cause the Coasts to be carefully watched, all Cattle, and every other Thing that might be serviceable to the Enemy, after Landing to be removed; Alarm Posts were fixed: The several Guards were ordered to be in readiness to march upon the first Notice of any Tumult, or Insurrection in *London* or *Westminster*; the Signal was, firing seven half Minute Guns at the Tower, which were to be answered by the like Number in *St. James's Park*; on hearing of which, every Officer and Soldier of the six Regiments of the City Militia, and the two Regiments of the Tower Hamlets, were to repair with their Arms, and a sufficient Quantity of Powder and Ball, to their respective Places of Rendezvous, on Pain of being punished as Deserters. Signals also were settled on the Coasts of *Sussex* and *Kent*, whither 4000 Foot and 2500 Horse were dispatched; the same was done on those of *Essex* and *Suffolk*, whither 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse had repaired,

paired, by putting out Flaggs in the Day-time, and Lights on the Tops of the Steeples and Castles in the Night, so that Notice of an Invasion would be at the Tower, and *St. James's Park* in a few Hours: The Lords of the Admiralty, ordered all the Men of War at *Portsmouth* to put to Sea, and took up 50 Merchant Men to be armed for cruising in the Channel.

Admiral *Vernon*, whose Name for the taking of *Porto Bello*, Anno 1739, had once resounded throughout *Europe*, with Commodores *Smith* and *Boscawen*, were already at Sea, each with a strong Squadron; the *Dover* Privateers had voluntarily gone to the Admiral, in Order to receive and follow his Instructions, on which he wrote them a Letter from on Board the *Norwich* in the *Downs*, dated *December* the 10th, assuring them, that he would take Care to reward every ones Services, and endeavour to procure from the Crown an ample Consideration for their Zeal.

Upon the 12th, two of those *Dover* Ships fell in with eight Transports bound from *Boulogne* for *Dunkirk*, under Convoy of a *French* Man of War of 22 Guns, to take Troops on Board; they seized three of them, sent one of them that Night to the Admiral in the *Downs*, and the other two to *Dover* next Morning. Upon the 19th, they fell in with

with about fixty Sail, mostly fishing Boats and small Vessels from *Dunkirk*, bound as they supposed for *Calais* or *Boulogne*, to take in Troops. Near the first Place, they drove seventeen of them on Shore, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away, two of which were directly carried into *Dover*, but the third was lost in that Bay. All these Vessels had some warlike Stores on Board, such as small Cannon, Powder, Ball, Horse Colours, Cloaths, Bedding for Soldiers, and Poles about seven Feet long, spiked at both Ends with Iron. Two of less Value for *Roan* to *Boulogne* were afterward sent in.

The very Day that the *Dunkirk* Embarkation met with this Disaster, the King sent a Message to both Houses of Parliament, that he had undoubted Intelligence of the
 “ Preparations at *Dunkirk*, and other *French*
 “ Ports, for invading his Kingdom, and
 “ that already a Person * had actually land-
 “ ed in *Scotland*, and emitted a treasonable
 “ Declaration, at *Montrose*, *Detem* the 2d.”
 “ That he was come with written Orders
 “ from the *French* King, to make War up-
 “ on the Elector of *Hanover*, and all those
 “ who would not assist the Prince Regent.

* Lord John Drummond, Brother-German to *Perth*.

“ in the Recovery of *Scotland, England* and
 “ *Ireland*, whose undoubted Title his Most
 “ Christian Majesty, with the Concurrence
 “ of the King of *Spain*, is resolved to sup-
 “ port, at the Expence of all the Men and
 “ Money he is Master of. †

King *George* further told them, that “ he
 “ had ordered into this Kingdom the 6000
 “ *Hessian* Troops taken into *British* Pay the
 “ 11th of *June* last, by Virtue of a Treaty
 “ with the King of *Sweden* as *Landgrave* of
 “ *Hesse Cassel*, the better to prevent the In-
 “ vasion and suppress the Rebellion,” and
 concludes, “ that he has no Doubt of their
 “ enabling him to make Good that Agree-
 “ ment, and concur with him in such Mea-
 “ sures as may best defeat the Attempt.”

A Copy of the Treaty being laid before
 them, an Address was drawn up, “ thank-
 “ ing his Majesty for communicating the
 “ Advices he had received, and for his Pa-
 “ ternal Care in providing for the Security
 “ of his People, by directing the *Hessians*
 “ to be brought into the Kingdom, and as-
 “ suring him of their making Good the
 “ Expence on that Account, and of their

† He likewise signified in the Declaration, that all
 Ships with the Pretender's Letter, should have free Ac-
 cess to Trade in every Port belonging to either Crowns
 of the House of *Bourbon*.

“ Readiness with their Lives and Fortunes,
“ to support his sacred Person and Govern-
“ ment,” and so concluded with “ declaring
“ their Detestation and Abhorrence of the
“ impious Design.”

Next Day the Country was alarmed by a Letter from Admiral *Vernon*, from on Board the *Norwich* in the Downs, to *John Norris*, Esq; at *Deal-Castle*, or to the Mayor of *Deal* in his Absence, informing, that great Numbers of small Imbarkations were brought from *Dunkirk*, and that several of them were laden with all Sort of Military Stores : That the *Irish* Troops had marched to *Calais* from *Dunkirk*, where General Count *Lewendball*, and many other Officers, were with a young Person, said to be the Pretender’s second Son ; and advising to assemble the neighbouring Towns in their Defence, ptomising on his Part the Cruisers Signal, which is a Jack Flag flying at the Top Mast Head, and to fire a Gun every half Hour, in Case the Enemy approached.

The Deputy Lieutenants of *Kent*, published the Letter, with a warm Invitation for all within twenty Miles of the Coast, to appear in Arms, on the 21d on Horseback, in *Swinfield-Minis*, and to bring two Days Provision with them. About 4000 People of the adjacent Parishes took arms, and brought
in

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in Pick-Axes, Shovels and other Necessaries.

Notwithstanding these Advices, many were of Opinion, that the Preparations about *Dunkirk*, and its Neighbourhood, were only to amuse; for Captain *Gregory* of the *Norwich*, reported, that upon taking a View of *Dunkirk*, there were but five or six Vessels in the Road, and very few in the Harbour. Commodore *Knowles*, afterward Governour of *Jamaica*, informed the Admiralty, that he had stood within half a Mile of the Piers Head of *Boulogne*, and within two or three of *Calais*, that in the Harbour of the former, there were not sixty of all Kinds, the largest of them a Galliot Hoy, whose Gaff was much higher than any of the other Vessels Mast Heads; and that there was not a single One which had a Topsail Yard rigged aloft; that within the Pier of the latter, there were three or four Topsail Vessels, the rest about 30, being only Galliot or Fishing Boats. From these Reports we may judge, whether the Fears of a *French* Landing were ill, or well founded? which ever was the Case, the Enemy on finding how the Scale was turned, gave over their Alarms.

For the Troops were cantoned conveniently along the Coast, and the Duke was returned from the Chace to *St. James's*, where on the Morning of the 5th, being *Sunday*,
he

he arrived in perfect Health, was at Chapel, afterward in the drawing Room, and did not appear in the least fatigued, tho' he had not been in Bed for three Days, his Countenance being as vigorous and lively, as if he had not gone thro' a Winter Campaign in the midst of Snow, Ice and other Hardships. The whole Court appear'd very gay on the Occasion, and every one seemed to take a particular Pride in paying him their Compliments.

Besides these Cantonments, and the Forces that were to encamp at *Finchley*; there were two Armies, one under General *Wade*, at *Newcastle*; and another who had served so well under the Eye of his Royal Highness, composed of the Regiments of Lieut. Generals *Ligonier*, *Richmond*, *Sinclair*, and *Albemarle*; Major Generals, *Howard*, *Skelton*, and *Bland*; Brigadiers, *Semple*, *Douglass*, and *Bligh*; Artillery, *Lesley*, *Bernard*, and *Roper's*; Brigadier Major's, Col. *Sowle's*, and Col. *Johnson's* Regiments; besides *Gower's*, *Montague's*, *Hallifax's*, *Granby's*, and *Cholmondley's* new raised Regiments of Foot, each consisting of 824 Men, *Montague's*, and *Kingston's* new levied Horse, containing each 273; together with Major General *Oglethorpe's* Body of 1000 Horse, with which he had been detached from General *Wade*, who was no sooner at *Newcastle*, than he sent 1000 of his best

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best Infantry, and 500 Horse to the Assistance of the Duke; who, to keep up an Harmony among all Ranks never failed, as in the Case of the Gentlemen and Inhabitants of *Whitehaven*, and of the Few who rose under the Duke of *Portland*, to return his Heartly Thanks in Writing, for their commendable Zeal in the Cause of their Country.

But the gloomy Prospect of meeting with too warm a Reception after Landing, was not more discouraging than the Landing was precarious and uncertain; for *Vernon*, whom the *French* then as much dreaded, as the *English* loved and admired, was at Sea with eleven Ships of the Line, from 70 to 16 Guns, 15 small Tenders, Privateers, and Custom House Sloops, leaving proper Squadrons under the respective Commanders, at the Places where Attacks were apprehended.

But further, the *British* Nation were not single in defending King *George's* Title to the Crown, by covering the Sea with Fleets, and guarding the Coasts with numerous Forces; for *Europe*, except *France* and *Spain*, declared for it.

Christian VI. of *Denmark*, more united by Interest than Blood, or the recent Tye of Marriage, betwixt his Son and the *British* Princess *Louisa*, who since died in Childbed, proffered not only the 12000 Troops in *British* Pay, but all his Forces if they could be carried

carried over. The old King of *Sweden*, that intimate Acquaintance of our Kings *George I.* and *II.* rightly judging, that what was the Case of King *George* to Day, might be his on the Morrow, declared his Abhorrence of the impious Attempt, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, and tho' King of a People naturally Lovers of the *British* Nation, but through Policy in the Interest of *France*, yet he lett out the Troops of his Landgravate in support of our King; and it is remarkable, that many *Swedes* served among them: The same might be observed of the King of *Poland*, who, notwithstanding he had one Daughter married to the Dauphin of *France*, another to the King of *Naples*, and had his Brother Count *Saxe*, whose incredible Strength of Body was not so great, as his Bravery and Gallantry of Mind, a Marechal of the *French* Armies; yet suddenly he clapt up a Peace with the King of *Prussia*, under the Mediation of King *George*, that the former, with the House of *Austria*, might be at more Liberty to act in support of his Right: The *Prussian* Monarch, tho' frequently so docile as to march his Army by the Direction of the Court of *France*, and receive his 1,400000 Florins; offered his whole Army to his Royal Uncle. The Empress of *Russia*, tho' raised to the Throne by the Intrigues of the House of *Bourbon*, yet, pressing the Steps of her
Father

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Father *Peter the Great*, proffered a Quota of Troops to be employed as the Court of *Britain* should direct: For these and other Reasons, *France* left *England* to extinguish the Rebellion, now driven into *Scotland*, where several Vicissitudes of good and bad Fortune, had in the Pretenders Absence attended the Royal Cause.

For no sooner had the Rebels left that Kingdom, than the Oeconomy of the different Places was restored as much as possible, only the Court of Session did not sit, which made it necessary to frame an Act of Parliament, securing every Persons Right, and importing, that the Time of the Troubles should not be detrimental in any Action.

The Clergy now returned to their several Congregations, recommended Loyalty to their King, and a Regard to their Country.

The Church of *Scotland*, was at that Time, and still is upon the Plan of *M. Calvin*, *Frenchman*; with this Difference, that whereas, he reformed from the Church of *Rome*, they have reformed from him, having such a Detestation of Popery, that whatever the *Vatican* thinks right is sufficient for them to think wrong: They use neither Liturgy, nor Notes, by which Means some of them, especially the young Men, irreverently address him who is All in All! him who fills all Space,
and

and on whom depends all Nature! others degenerate into a Cant and Singing, which is not quite agreeable to an *English* Ear; their Charity for such as differ from them is small, and their Courts being taken up with Things that don't concern Ecclesiastics, such as determining the Rights of Presenting to a Living of 70, or 50*l.* *per Annum* between contending Parties, lays a Foundation for doing Things inconsistent with a sacred Character, and which the wiser among them abhor; they maintain the Doctrine of Predestination, and think those irrecoverably lost who do not with themselves hold, "that God Almighty has from Eternity damned the Bulk of Mankind." The Dissenters in *England* who follow their Example, especially the *Scots* Clergy among them, are much of the same Way, but rather worse, being very jealous of each other's Popularity, using the Name of *Christ* like a Charm, and sure to discourage any Gentleman of Learning who may appear among them; for its observable, that ever since the Death of the famous Doctor *Calamy*, and the learned and generous Doctor *James Anderson*, who was barbarously thrust from his Congregation in *Swallow-Street*, and whose elaborate Works will be coeval with the Sun, few but Hypocrites have appeared. The

The Commission of the *Scots* Assembly, published a Warning to the People, and the inferiour Judicatures followed their Example.

The Masters of the University returned, and on the 21st began to teach their respective Classes, being now secure, as Lieutenant General *Roger Handaside*, in Sir *John Cope's* Place, had arrived from *Berwick* upon the 14th, with Col. *Price's*, and *Ligonier's* Regiments of Foot; *Hamilton*, and *Gardner's* Dragoons; the Night they entered was one of the most boisterous that has been observed, and proved fatal to several Ships; among whom, the *Fox* Man of War of 20 Guns, which perished with her Crew; her Wreck sometime after was thrown in nigh *Dunbar*, where was found and decently interred the Corps of Captain *Beaver*, who had so well defended the Passage of *Kinghorn*, during the Stay of the Rebels in the *Lothians*: His Skull was terribly fractured, and his Eyes eat out of his Head, he having, as was apprehended, been dashed against some Craigs by the Violence of the Waves; his whole Body was miserably disfigured, and had it not been for his Legs, which were remarkably long, he could not have been distinguished.

On the 13th, the Lords of Justiciary attended by the Freeholders of the Counties of *Merse*, of *East*, and *Mid-Lothians*, entered the City on Horseback, passed through the
Street

Street then crowded with Spectators: They were met by the late Magistrates at the Cross, and loudly huzza'd by the People: Thence they proceeded to the Parliament Close, where alighting, they advanced to the House, where being seated; *Andrew Fletcher* of *Miltoun*, then Lord Justice Clerk, informed them, " That he and his Brethren, conscious
" of their Duty to their King, their Coun-
" try, and themselves, laid hold of the first
" Opportunity of returning to this Capital,
" to endeavour with their Help to restore
" Peace, and revive the Civil Government;
" to shew to the World, how little Accession
" the Southern Parts of *Scotland* had to the
" recent Calamities, from which they were
" lately delivered; that *M. Wade* had or-
" dered a Body of Troops to march for
" Protection of this City, and the adjacent
" Country from Insults: That if the present
" Troubles did not subside, Provision should
" be made against any future Disturbance:
" That the Heritors of every Parish, should
" make up Lists of the able bodied Men in
" their respective Lands, proper to be en-
" trusted with Arms; that these were to be
" delivered to the respective Sheriffs, to be
" transmitted by them to the Persons ap-
" pointed by the King for that Purpose:
" That Application should be made to the
" Established Church for their Assistance in
" that Affair."

The

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The Sight of these was very agreeable upon the Anniversary of the Battles of *Preston* and of *Dumblain* thirty Years before; the Castle fired a Round from her great Guns, and the Musick Bells play'd Tunes suitable to the Occasion: The Methods propos'd were comply'd with: A new Subscription was opened by the City of *Edinburgh*, for raising a thousand Foot for his Majesty's Service; and Persons by Advertisement were invited to sign; Gentlemen and Clergy, some of whom headed their Parishes and acted the Soldier, appeared in Numbers; and in a short Time a sufficient Sum was paid down; the Drums beat thro' the City for Recruits, and such as had list'd formerly, but had been obliged to disband on Account of the Rebels, were now desired to repair to their Duty, when they should enter into the Pay of 4 s. *per* Week without Discount. In a short Time 400 Men enlisted, and were daily trained in the *Parliament* and *College Close*, by such as had Skill.

The 18th of *December* was by a Royal Proclamation dated *November* 12th, to have been observed as a Day of Humiliation and Fasting, but by an unlucky Circumstance it was kept at *Edinburgh*, and many other Places rather as a Festival; for upon the *Monday* before, a false Piece of Intelligence, that the Duke had attacked the Rebels at

Lancaster, and totally routed them, being published in the *Evening Courant*, the Symptoms of Grief gave place to those of Joy; the Clergy preached the News from the Pulpits, and exulted in the Event.

The Militia of *Argyleshire* were now called into the Service of the Government, the Act of Parliament, against any Number of *Highlanders* rising in Arms, being suspended; and happy had it been for the *Pretender* and his Associates, that the same had been sooner done: Arms and Warlike Stores were shipt off from *Liverpool* for their Use, and General *Campbell* of *Mammore*, set out from *London*, to take upon him the Command of these Levies.

That Officer had, on the 4th of *November*, arrived in the *Thames*, with his Regiment from *Flanders*, along with those of Lieut. Gen. *Handasyde*, Brig. *Skelton*, *Bligh*, *Mordaunt* and *Semple* with the *Highlanders*. Each of these, from the Moment of their Landing, were busied about the Service of the Government, but none more than Mr. *Campbell*, who, to raise Troops to fight the Rebels with their own Weapons, arrived at *Inverara*, *December* 31st, with a Commission to levy 3400 Men.

The Gentlemen of the County sent the Lists of the Militia in their respective Lands to the Sheriff Depute *Campbell* of *Stonefield*; and

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and from these the Quota was draughted; the private Men had full Pay, but the Officers only the Half: A considerable Number of them were stationed at *Inverara*, which they fortified against Attempts; 300 of them attacked a *Squade* of the *Mac Gregours*, whom they soon put to Flight, killing two, and taking seven Prisoners. A numerous Corps was stationed at *Campbletown* in *Kintyre*, both to prevent any Invasion from *Ireland*, and to be in Readiness to march against the disaffected Clans scattered thro' the Country if they should arise; Garrisons were put into the Castles along the Coast, while the Remainder only waited an Opportunity of marching to join the regular Forces, which they soon afterward did.

And here a particular Account of these People might be expected, but as the Genealogy of the Family of *Argyle* is in every Persons Hands, I shall only observe, that the *Campbells* by espousing the Cause of *David Bruce* against *Edward Balliol*, have been the most instrumental of any in *Scotland* in settling the *Steuarts* upon the Throne, contrary to the Voice of the Nation at that Time, *Bruce's* Friends and Name not excepted; and as this Step proves that the Lineal Heir was not always preferred to the Crown, or at least was not always successful, so it shews that the *Campbells*, supposing the Chevalier's

Claim to be good, pursued no new Scheme in the Part they have so long acted.

The Family of *Argyle* are descended from a Sister of that *Robert Bruce* who shone more in Adversity, that Touchstone of the human Heart, than ever he did when adorned with Laurels, and crowned with the Conquest of the finest Army that ever *England* sent into the Field; they have been eminently loyal to the several Kings who from Time to Time experienced their Fidelity, in nipping in the Bud the seditious and treasonable Schemes of the neighbouring Clans, who frequently committed the most terrible Murders *.

For a Course of uninterrupted Loyalty, *Colin*, Viscount of *Lochou*, was created Earl of *Argyle* by King *James III.* and the Family was among the first in *Scotland* to embrace the Reformation: The Attachment of the Marquis of *Argyle* to the *English* Parliament, was the Occasion of his falling a Sacrifice for the Crime of almost the whole Nation: And as *Charles II.* opened his Reign with the Blood of the Marquis; so King *James* begun his with the Blood of the Earl, the former Nobleman's Son: Who, tho' very faithful to King *Charles*, yet lost his Head for refusing the Test, a Fault committed by almost the whole Episcopal Clergy!

The

The Son of this Earl was the first Duke of *Argyle*, a Nobleman adorn'd with the most princely Virtues; he abounded with Honours and Titles, but indeed his greatest was to be the Father of two Sons, who, tho' moving in different Spheres, yet shone with so much Lustre, that it is hard to say which had the Ascendant: *John*, Duke of *Argyle*, was a most endearing Hero, whose Actions will appear brightest when drawn in their Native Colours, and whose upright Heart, like that of the greatest of Kings, could bear the Search of the God of Heaven: *Search me, and try me, O God!* And now this Duke shines among the Great, possessing the Excellence of Wisdom, and adorning the Robes which he wears.

This Nobleman, tho' always serviceable to the State, yet was never more useful than now; he did not like some others, despise the *Highland* Host, nor did his Clan embrace a Neutrality; and tho' his Advice upon representing the Nature of *them*, was despised so, as that for some Time he withdrew from the Privy Council, yet on their Application to him, after the first Dawn of the *Pretender's* Success, he readily and honestly told his Mind, wrote to his principal Gentlemen earnestly recommending to them to infuse a Spirit of Loyalty into those of his Name; who immediately took Arms, for regarding

the Advice of their Chief, whom they look'd upon as an Oracle; and knowing that a Change of Government would dispossess them of their Lands, they engaged *pro aris et focis*.

I had Occasion to observe in that Name a certain Coolness of Temper, which gives them a Superiority over the neighbouring Clans; some Grains of whose Genius by Intermarriages crept in among them, tho' the Complaisance of the *French*, whence they are originally descended, with the Honesty of the true *Briton*, bears the Ascendant in their Minds, which are equally fitted for the Court or the Field.

And not only did these *Highlanders* shew their Affection to their King and Country, but the other Western Counties. The City of *Glasgow* raised a Regiment on her own Expence, which was provided with Arms from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, in the same Manner as regular Troops, and put under the Command of the Earl of *Hume*. The little Town of *Paisley* having tasted the Fruits of Trade, and Advantages of a Thread Manufactory, levied a Corps of 210 Men on her own Charge. The Shire and Town of *Renfrew* from the same Motives, armed under the Earl of *Glencairn*; as did the Inhabitants of the respective Counties under their immediate Superiors and Lords.

Thus

Thus the whole Southern, Eastern, and Western Parts of *Scotland*, vyed in Loyalty to their King, and in shewing a Sense of their Happiness under his mild Administration, while the Northern Storm raged beyond the *Forth*, and several unhappy People were carried down the Stream of Rebellion.

For now the *French* dropped in with their Privateers upon the North, where they were but too kindly received: In some Places of *Buchan*, the very Boys too, much encouraged by the Speeches of their Masters, wore white Cockades, and martialled themselves in Companies, while those of riper Years declared for the *Pretender*.

The vast Tract of Ground from *Forth* to *Spey*, being in the Hands of the Enemy, Excesses of the worst Kind were committed upon the Inhabitants; several Noblemen and Gentlemens Seats were plundered, and their dwelling Houses turned into Dens: In the County of *Angus* about 5000*l.* was levied under Pain of military Execution, and the Cess was laid on in the most undue Proportion; so that many Families of Distinction withdrew from the Sight of the Scene, while some of inferior Rank were pressed into the Rebel Service, under Pain of being burnt in their own Habitations.

The Arrival of Lord *John Drummond* at *Montrose*, November 30th, St. *Andrew's* Day.

with 600 Men, 15 Pieces of Cannon, some of which of 18 Pounders, greatly puffed up the Rebel Party, and made the poor Country feel to their Smart, that an Enemy was in her Bosom; the People were obliged to transport their Ammunition, Provision, and other Necessaries, and to carry their Artillery, some Pieces of which took about twenty Horses to draw them; the Corps separated into different Parties, and were cantoned along the Coast, while the main Body repaired to their Grand Camp at *Perth*, where they fortified themselves, and planted their Cannon so conveniently as scarce to be forced; which Appearance striking the Imagination of the Vulgar, who are ever apt to magnify, prevailed upon several to join.

Among the Number of the raw and unexperienced, was Lord *Lewis Gordon*, who got together a Body of desperate Persons, mostly of his own Name, who like the Clans, being ignorant of the Interest of their Country, and of the Punishment for Rebellion, soon engaged in his Cause.

This young Nobleman, either judging his Force insufficient to serve his new Master, or not equal to what might be expected from the *Gordons*, a People generally of the *Roman* Communion, violated the Law of Nature and Nations to augment his Corps.

Every

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Every Person in the Shire of *Aberdeen* worth 8 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of valued Rent, was ordered under pain of Military Execution, to pay 5 *l.* or to furnish an able bodied Man; several People, otherways peaceable, joined, while others chuse to pay the exorbitant Demand; so that in a short Time he raised about 13000 *l.* while the Earl of *Cromarty's* Corps, with those of the Clan *Ghattan* committed the meanest Barbarities.

No sooner had *these* arrived at *Perth*, than the County of *Fife*, so remarkable for her ancient Heroes of old, and her industrious Inhabitants at present, was visited by them; and on the Return of their Leader from *England*, their Rage was greatly increased: On the 27th of *December*, a Party of *Highlanders* under Major *Nairn* came to *Alloa*, where they raised the Cess, and committed several Excesses, as they afterward did at *Dumferling*: Not content with the publick Money, they assailed several Gentlemen in considerable Sums, which they raised without Regard to Circumstances. The little Shire of *Kinross*, consisting only of four small Parishes and an half, shared the Fate of her populous Sister; for the same Corps had come there, demanded a whole Year's Cess, and severely cashier'd all those who had served the Government; the Friends of a poor Carrier were compell'd to pay thirteen

L. 5.

Guineas,

Guineas, because he had carried one Captain *Reynolds*, a French Officer on Board one of his Majesty's Ships of War. The People were obliged to bring in their best Horses, Guns, Swords and Pistols, and make Faith on the same, as also forced to carry into *Perth* 100 Bolls of Meal, 500 Loads of Coals; and tho' the Honour of the commanding Officer was plighted for Payment, they returned without so much as their Sacks for their Pains; forty Horses, with all their Furniture, likeways were seized.

A few Days after the Earl of *Cromarty* came down with another Party, and signed an Order upon the County, for Payment of 1125 *l.* directed to the several Proprietors; which Sum not being at that Time to be raised, some Houses were pillaged, the Possessors abused, threatned with Burnings and the other Effects of a Military Law: The same might be said of the Places around, but this may serve for an Example.

Such a powerful Party appearing in the North, under the Viscount of *Strathallan*, who was left by the Pretender to secure the Landings from *France*, at last prevailed on the *Frasers* to throw off the Mask, and espouse the Cause in which their Chieftain *Lovat* had been so long and so deeply engaged.

The Clan of that subtle Lord marched first under Pretence of seeking some Cattle that had been stolen out of the *Aird*, and all at once diverted their Rout to Fort *Augustus*, in order to seize upon the Soldiers there; but being prevented by the timely Succours brought from *Inverness*, all of a Sudden they marched by forty and fifty at a Time for *Perth*, whether young *Lovat*, a Youth of nineteen Years of Age, accompanied by one *Hugh Fraser*, repaired, leaving old *Simon* to palliate his Conduct, which for some Time he artfully did.

The Lord President of the Session, who knew well what *Lovat* was capable of, expostulated with him in several Letters, upon his Conduct. But the other, not only expressed his Amazement that his Lordship should entertain any Suspicion of him, but likeways enlarged on the Madness of the Attempt in Favour of the Pretender!

This colouring could not dazzle the Eyes of the President, who upon the Marching of the *Frazers* for *Perth*, wrote to him in the strongest Terms, representing his Ingratitude to the Government, a Crime, says his Lordship, with which neither *Perth* nor *Tul-lebardin* can be charged! That they never had any immediate Places under it, as his Lordship had; he told him, that his Intrigues were obvious from the Part which he, or at

least his eldest Son under his Direction were acting. To which *Simon* wrote an Answer by one *Hugh Frazer*, in which, as in his other Letters, he lays the Blame on his *unnatural* Son, whose Obstinacy in going into the Rebellion against his Advice, he bitterly complains of; he then insinuates, that if any Harm was done the *Highlanders*, it would tend to erase some Ancient Families, to whom he gives the highest Encomiums; mentions the Battle of *Killicranky*, with particular Honour to the Rebels, to keep whom down, he points out the Remedy of distributing 25,000*l.* among them; told him, "that he had 600 brave *Frazers* of the same Age with himself, who would with Sword in Hand defend him," and then concludes in so comical a Manner, concerning the *Cronach* *, to be sung before his Hearse when he died, as can deserve no Place in History.

The Earl of *Loudon* and the President, observing the Fruitlessness of Treaties, resolved on another Method. From the Beginning they suspected him, and in his Majesty's Name, the former Lord demanded the Arms of his Clan? but all the Answer was, that he knew nothing of his Clan, and was

* A mournful Song at Funerals.

such an Invalid, as unable to move from his Chair. On this *his* Lordship went with a Party to *Castle Downie*, against which he planted Cannon, and carried old *Simon* Prisoner in a Chaise to *Inverness*. Being confined, in three Days Time, *Frazer* of *Gortuleg*, carried a Sheaf of Barley into the Prison, to accommodate his Lordship, roll'd him in it, secretly carried him out, and that very Night conducted him to *Gortuleg*, where he continued that treasonable Correspondence and Practice, which afterward appear'd so fully.

The Earl of *Loudon*, rightly judging that the *Frasers* of *Stratherrick* would follow those of the *Aird*, as their Chieftain now was among them, he set out in the Midst of a piercing Frost, on the 3d of *December*, with 600 Men, to supply Fort *Augustus* with Necessaries; and in his Way, intimated to *them*, what they were to expect if they joined the Enemy. Having returned to *Inverness* on the 8th, he heard of the sad State of Affairs, on the other Side of the *Spey*, to remedy which, he detached Mr. *McLeod*, with 400 Men toward *Elgin*, and next Day Captain *George Munro* of *Culcairn*, with 200 of his Brother's Vassals and Name.

Upon *McLeod's*, coming to *Elgin*, he was informed, that Lord *Lewis Gordon* with 200 Men, was in Possession of the Boats at
Fochabers,

Fochabers, and resolved to dispute the Passage of the *Spey* with him.

That young Nobleman, in a most insulting Letter, ordered Sir *Ludovick Grant*, who had mustered up about 700 of his Name, to disband, threatening *Strathspey* with Fire and Sword if he did not; but Sir *Ludovick* knowing the Impotence of his Menaces, intimated, that he would speak with him next Day, when he advanced to the Hill above *Gordon-Castle*, to favour *McLeod's* passing the River, on which Lord *Lewis* observing his dangerous Situation from the Neighbourhood of the *Grants*, and of the *McLeods*, now on the Banks of the *Spey*, on the 15th, retreated toward *Strathbogie*.

The Enemy being gone, the Boats crossed for transporting the *McLeods*, who joined the *Grants*; but soon separated, the former taking the Rout of *Cullen*, and the other that of *Strathbogie*. Next Day, *Culcairn* crossed the *Spey* with his Corps, and followed the *Grants* to *Strathbogie*, whence the latter retired to defend their own Habitations, to the great Misfortune of the other Commanders; for had they marched on, 'tis not to be doubted, but either Lord *Lewis* would have fled to *Angus*, where he would have been shut up, or else have been worsted in the Skirmish, I am soon to relate; the Consequence of which would have been,
that

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that not only *Aberdeen*, the third City in the Nation, and almost the whole North of *Scotland*, would have been put into the Hands of the Royalists, but the future Landing from *France* had been prevented.

In the mean while, the *McLeods* arrived at *Old Meldrum*, on the 19th, as did the *Munros* on the 21st at *Aldrain*; next Day both Parties marched for *Inverury*, where they joined by Ten in the Morning. By the Time the *Munros* had got their Billets upon the Country, West of the Place, the furthest about two Miles distant, the other entered the Town.

Things being in this Situation, the whole Corps got Orders to be in Readiness about Six next Morning, to march for *Aberdeen*, and dislodge the Enemy; but these were countermanded, because of a Reinforcement of 700 Men which Lord *Lewis* had received from *Aberbrothick* and *Montrose*. Every Thing was quiet in the Camp that Day, which being *Sunday*, such as understood *English* went to Church, after placing Centries at the proper Avenues, and detaching fifty Men by the Way of *Kintore*, for Intelligence. These espied two on Horseback, whom six of them pursued near two Miles, when fearing an Ambuscade, they stopt, notwithstanding the Men were obliged to alight from their Horses now quite spent with Fatigue,

tigue, took to their Heels, and carried such a Consternation to *Aberdeen*, that the Rebels turn'd out and drew up in a Park to the West of the Town.

Each Corps, now afraid of each other, placed Centries about their Camps all Night, and in the Morning, sent out Parties to patrol; and perhaps, both had continued in this Condition, had not an Express been intercepted at *Turreff*, from Lord *Loudon* to *McLeod*, setting forth, that his Business with Lord *Louat*, who was now as much as ever committing Treason clandestinely, could not allow him to spare the 200 of the *Guns* he had wrote for. The Letter being carried to Lord *Lewis*, he called a Council of War, in which it was resolved to march secretly for *Inverury*, judging the *McLeods* would be secure in Expectation of the Reinforcement.

On the 23d, after sending 100 Men by the common Road, he set out by the Way of the Bridge of *Don* *, in the Morning, at the Head of 800 Men, composed of his own Name, under the Command of M. *Gordon* of *Abbackie*, 200 *Farquharsons*, 200

* A Bridge that has but one Arch, which is about 200 Feet from the Surface of the Water, and is 300 Feet long.

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of the *Angus* Militia, and 100 of the *French* Piquets, under Lord *Lewis Drummond*, Son of the Earl of *Melfort*, who at the Revolution, followed the Fate of King *James II.*

About an Hour after Sunſet, ſome of the *McLeods* going to the South-End of the Town to relieve the Centries, eſpied white Colours upon the Declivity of a Hill, and approaching nearer and nearer, by the Side of the Parks of *Keithball*; the Alarm was given, and the Pipes ſounded to Arms. *McLeod* and *Culcainn*, put their Men, about 350, in the beſt Poſture, a little to the South-Eaſt of the Town. When they ſaw the Enemy entering the Water of *Ury* above the Baſs, which is a little artificial Mount ſituated on the South-Eaſt near the Church, the King's Men fired upon them, which made them retire a little to a Ford at the Miln of *Inverury*, where they croſſed, and by the Way of the Baſs, round which they fetched a Semicircle, advanced againſt the Royaliſts. When come from this Fence, they were ſaluted with a Fire from them, on which they haſtned toward the Church upon their Right, and when here, wheeled with their Front toward the King's Troops. There was nothing now betwixt them but an Aſcent which equally ſcreened both Parties. But the Enemy having got clear of it, they advanced firing, while the 100 were
croſſing

crossing the *Don*, a little below the Town, which struck such a Consternation, that the Royalists fled off in great Confusion, hurrying Captain *Munro* himself in their Flight, and perhaps he had been taken Prisoner, if his Servant had not come seasonably to his Relief with a Horse, while *McLeod* endeavoured as much as possible to conduct the Retreat of his Men.

The Body of the *Munros* had no Share in the Action, for, on the first Platoon, they fled out of their Quarters in the utmost Confusion, and with those who were engaged, pursued their Flight, and in straggling Parties, scarce twenty Men in one Corps, did they carry Confusion and Horror to *Inverness* where they joined.

Such was the Skirmish at *Inverury*, in which were killed on the Side of the Royalists seven, and fifteen wounded, and on that of the Enemy twenty, most of whom were carried down the Water, in which they were shot by a Party of fifteen Men, posted in a Corn-Yard, upon the Side of the River: One *Munro* of *Achanie*, having behind that Fence, fired eleven Times.

No sooner had Victory declared for the Enemy, than they surrounded the Houses of the Town, and took about 49 Prisoners, among whom was Mr. *Gordon* the Younger of *Ardoch*, and some others, whom they
treated

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treated rigorously; Lord *Lewis Gordon* went into an Inn with some of them, called for a Bottle of Wine, and proposed the following Healths, which with his retiring behind a House during the Action, may serve to give an Idea of his Character: His first Toast was, "Here's Confusion to all the Whigs," his second, "Damnation to all the Whig Ministers," and his third, "Success to the Arms of the *French King*."

Next Day a Detachment was sent after the Royalists to *Strathbogie*, where hearing of *McLeod's* crossing the *Spey* they returned, and on the 26th marched for *Aberdeen*; here the Loyalists were carried in Triumph and upbraided, as much as was *Perseus* of old by the Buffoons of *Rome*, when conducted into that City by *Æmilius Paulus*. The Prisoners in Health were for most part sent to *Perth*, and the wounded kept at *Aberdeen* for their Recovery, while the Rebels continued to tyrannize in the Country, to augment their Numbers, and favour the Landings from Abroad, till called upon to assist at the Battle which soon afterward ensued.

And not only are the Turns of Fortune to be met with at Land, but likewise at Sea; for the Passage of *Kinghorn* was opened upon the Departure of the Enemy, and the Ships formerly in the Roads now returned into the Harbours: Admiral *Byng* was upon the Coast with

with the *Gloucester* of 50 Guns, the *Pearl*, *Milford* and *Ludlow*, each of 40; the *Winchelsea*, *Bridgwater* and *Glasgow*, of 20 each; the *Raven*, *Shark*, and some other Vessels.

Upon the 25th of *November*, the *Milford* took a Privateer, the *Lewis* of *Dunkirk*, and brought her into *Leith* Road upon the 5th of *December*, the Day that General *Handasyde* set out for *Berwick*, amidst a numerous Retinue of Noblemen, Gentlemen and Officers, highly satisfy'd with the Civility shewn the Troops by the Country People, who wanted no Reward of their Kindness but that it might be received.

On the 6th the Prisoners were landed, and escorted to the Castle by a Detachment of Col. *Ligonier's* Foot, and *Gardner's* Dragoons amidst a prodigious Multitude; there were eight Officers, two Serjeants, three Corporals and forty-six private Men of *Buckley's* Regiment; two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Serjeants, three Corporals, one Drum, and 46 private Men of *Clair's*; two Captains, two Lieutenants, two Surgeons, three Serjeants, three Corporals, one Drum, and 47 private Men of *Berwick's*, with four Servants and 27 Sailors, in all 206; the Vessel had likeways 330 Stand of Arms, with Bayonets and Cartridge Boxes, as many broad Swords with Brass Handles, a great Number of Bridles, Saddles, Harnesses and Collars.

As

As they passed, little Concern was observed in the private Men, tho' the Officers seem'd much affected; they were mostly *Irish*, and some of *British* and *Irish* Extraction, the few Deserters among them were closely confined till tried by a Court Martial and executed afterward.

But while the Rebels got a Check, the Government got another in her Turn, for not only had the *Fox* Man of War been lost, but the *Hazard* Sloop fell into the Hands of the Enemy on the 1st of *December*: She had sailed to the Mouth of the *Esk* in order to destroy the *Frenchman* which guarded the Convoy of Troops lately arrived with Lord *J. Drummond* at *Montrose*; two *French* Vessels engaged her very closely, the one by her Side, the other on her Stern, while the Tide drove her within Reach of a Battery which was erected at the Entrance of the River; this played furiously, so that she retired, as did the other Vessels also; the Sloop being now out of Danger, one of her Lieutenants went on Shore to *Montrose*, and sitting up a little too late, thought proper to go to Bed; this Circumstance being told a Rebel Officer in the Neighbourhood, he seiz'd the Lieutenant in the Night-time, obliged him to go down and hawl the Sloop to send her Boat on Shore; which being done, an armed Company entred it, suddenly jumped upon

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upon Deck, seiz'd the Centry, and master'd
the Vessel, carried her to *Dunkirk*, where she
was turned into a Privateer, called the *Prince*
Charles Snow, and three Times sent with
Troops, Money and Ammunition, for the Use
of the Rebels, but at a very critical Juncture,
fell into the Hands of her first Masters,
who restored her to her former Service and
Name.

The End of the FIFTH BOOK.



THE



T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N ,
M D C C X L V a n d M D C C X L V I .

B O O K V I .

C O N T E N T S .

The Chevalier's Journal of his Marches thro' England, as published by himself; the Character of the Prince of Wales; the Battle of Falkirk; and the remarkable Death of one of the Rebel Colonels.

SUCH was the Condition of Scotland, when the *Chevalier* came to Glasgow, that changed the Face of Affairs, and by a Junction with the other Forces in the North, which was soon effected, became stronger than ever: Nothing seem'd hard for him if
he

he could but prevail upon Lord *Lovat* to throw off the Mask and openly to join; for this Purpose, three of the principal Leaders wrote to him, as did the Chevalier with his own Hand; besides, in order to represent the Glory of their Expedition, and set off the prosperous State of their Affairs, and to leave nothing untried to gain over fresh Men to their Party, they published the following Relation of their Winter Campaign.

JOURNAL of the Marches of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's Army, from the Time they entered England, the 8th of November, till their Return to Scotland, the 20th of December, 1745.

HIS Royal Highness entered *England*, Friday the 8th Day of November, in the Evening, and quartered at *Reddings* all Night.

The 9th His Royal Highness passed the Water of *Eden* at *Rockley* about Two in the Afternoon, with the First Column, and quartered that Night in the Villages West from *Carlisle*.

The next Morning, being *Saturday* the 10th, *Carlisle* was blockaded on all Hands, and the Cannon were brought up, in order to raise a Battery that Night; but Intelligence being come, that General *Wade* was march-

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marching towards *Carlisle*, His Royal Highness went early on *Monday* the 11th to *Brampton*, being seven Miles on the Road to *Newcastle*, in order to meet Marshal *Wade's* Army, and give him Battle: But, after waiting there two Days, and having certain Intelligence that the Troops near *Newcastle* declined coming forward, His Royal Highness ordered *Carlisle* to be again blockaded, which was done accordingly by Half of the Army on *Wednesday* Night, being the 13th, whilst his Royal Highness continued with the other Half at *Brampton*, as the most convenient Post to attack the Enemy, had they ventured to relieve *Carlisle*. The Trenches were opened that Night at about Musket Shot from the Walls of the Town, about Midway betwixt the *English* and *Scots* Ports, and thirteen Cannon were brought up, in order to batter the Town; but this was prevented by the Town's Capitulating on *Thursday* the 14th, and his Royal Highness's Troops took Possession of the Town and Castle on *Friday* Morning, after the Town got full Security for their Liberties, &c. according to the Capitulation. During both Times that *Carlisle* was blockaded, there was but one Man killed, and one wounded. The Militia that served in *Carlisle*, all the Inhabitants of the City, as well as the Neighbourhood, can testify the exact Discipline of his

M

Royal

Royal Highness's Army, who paid for every Thing. All the Subjects were protected in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and Properties.

His Royal Highness, with his Army, halted at *Carlisle*, and in the Neighbourhood, till the 20th of *November*, which Day the Van marched to *Penrith*.

The 21st, the Van went to *Shap* and the main Body came to *Penrith*.

The 22d, The Van marched to *Kendal*, and the main Body halted at *Penrith*.

The 23d, The main Body came to *Kendal*.

The 24th, The Van marched to *Lancaster*, and the main Body halted at *Kendal*.

The 25th, The Van marched to *Preston*, and the main Body to *Lancaster*.

The 27th, the whole Army halted.

The 28th, marched to *Wiggan*, and the Villages near to it.

The 29th, all the Army marched to *Macclesfield*.

The 2d, the Van marched to *Congleton* (within nine Miles of *Newcastle Under-Line* where the main Body of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Army lay) from which a Detachment was sent towards *Newcastle* for Intelligence, and within three Miles of that Place, the said Detachment took Mr. *Wear* (or *Wiar*) their principal Spy, Prisoner, and brought him to *Congleton*, upon which the Duke

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Duke of *Cumberland's* Army retired to *Litchfield*. The Prince Regent having Intelligence of his Retreat from *Newcastle Under-Line*, marched for *Derby* by *Ashbourn*.

The 3d, The Van marched to *Ashbourn* by *Leek*. The main Body rested the 2d at *Macclesfield*, and marched the 3d to *Leek*. And,

The 4th, The whole Army went to *Derby*, where they stayed all the 5th; and in a Council of War held in his Royal Highness's Presence, (Dispatches of Importance being receiv'd) it was resolv'd to return to *Scotland*; and the next Day, being the 6th, they returned to *Ashbourn*.

The 7th, they marched to *Leek*, and on the 8th to *Macclesfield*.

The 9th, the whole Army marched to *Manchester*.

The 10th, they marched to *Wigan*, and the 11th to *Preston*, where they halted the 12th.

The 13th, marched to *Lancaster*, halted the 14th; which Day a reconnoitring Party took two of the Duke of *Cumberland's* Men call'd Rangers.

The 15th, marched to *Kendal*.

The 16th, the main Body of the Army was at *Shap*, but the Rear Guard were obliged to stop at a Farm four Miles from *Kendal*, by reason that a great many of the Carriages,

and particularly the four-wheeled Waggon, in which was part of the Ammunition, could not be got forward because of the Steepness of the Hill and Badness of the Road: But small Carts being got next Day, and the Ammunition being shifted from the broken Waggon, they came that Night to *Shap*, being the 17th; the main Body having gone to *Penrith* that Day.

The 18th, the Rear Guard join'd the main Body at *Penrith* in the Evening. They saw several Parties of the Enemy that Day, but upon the Approach of the Rear Guard they always retired: Tho' once, a considerable Body of Light Horse formed upon the Road, in order to stop their Proceeding; but, upon some of the *Highlanders* throwing their Plaids and running to attack them, they went off on the Gallop, and shew'd that Horse cou'd run faster than Man, one of them only having been kill'd. After the Baggage was sent to *Penrith*, a Battallion of Foot and some Horse went through Lord *Lonsdale's* Parks of *Lowder*, thinking to find some of the Light Horse about his House, as he was Lord Lieutenant of the County: Accordingly some of them were seen at a Distance, but rode off upon Sight of the *Highlanders*: Some Shots were fired after them. At the same Time, some Parties scouring the Parks, took a Running Footman of the Duke of *Cumberland's*,
and

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and another Person clothed in Green, who appeared to be an Officer; who informed that the Duke of *Cumberland* was within a Mile, with about four thousand Horse and Dragoons, besides Light Horse and Militia; upon which Lord *George Murray*, who always commanded the Rear Guard, took Possession of a Village called *Clifton*, being a Mile from Lord *Lonsdale's* House, upon the Highway to, and two Miles short of *Penrith*. By that Time the Enemy had form'd upon an open Muir, facing *Clifton*, and within half Cannon Shot; where they continued for a considerable Time: At last, about an Hour after Sun-set, they dismounted several of their Dragoons, who came to the Bottom of the Muir, and lin'd the Hedges and Ditches that were next to it. There was a pretty smart Fire on both Sides, for above half an Hour; but at last the Dragoons firing very fast, a Battallion of *Highlanders* was ordered down Sword-in-Hand upon them, with Orders to drive them from their Posts, but not to advance upon the Muir. Accordingly they went on with the greatest Alacrity and Swift-ness, and after passing two Hedges drove them from the third, which was the last of all, and then returned, as they were ordered, to their former Posts. But 12 of the *Highlanders* having past the Bottom Ditch, and run up the Muir, are still missing, which

is the whole Loss on their Side. How many of the Dragoons were killed and wounded is uncertain; but by several Circumstances, such as Broad-Swords taken from the Dragoons, and the Report of the wounded dressed at *Penrith*, next Day, cannot be less than a hundred.

Night being now come on, both Sides retired. The four Battallions of *Highlanders* joined the main Body at *Penrith*, and next Day, being the 19th, the whole Army arrived at *Carlisle*, where they left a Garrison; and the 20th, past the Water of *Eske*, which was very high, about three of the Clock in the Afternoon. All this Time the Enemy never appeared; what they met with near *Penrith* had disgusted them from too near an Approach of his Royal Highness's Army, which quartered in two different Columns that Night; the one with his Royal Highness at *Annan*, and the other at *Ecclefechan*.

It is certain, that by all Accidents, such as Death, by Sicknes (of which 'tis believed there were more in one Day in General *Wade's* Army, than was in six Weeks in his Royal Highness's Army) and People that went astray in plundering (which notwithstanding all the Officers were able to do, could not be intirely prevented) and were not heard of again, that his Royal Highness's Army did not lose forty Men in the Expedition,

tion, including the Twelve at *Penrith*. Upon the whole, never was a March performed with more Chearfulness, and executed with greater Vigour and Resolution; which (next to the visible Protection of Almighty GOD) was owing to the Example shewn by his Royal Highness, who always marched on Foot at the Head of his Men.

But while the Chevalier's Council were preparing an Account of Times past, his Officers were not deficient in making Provision against the Time to come. They made vast Demands of Broad Cloth, Tartan, Linnen, Bonnets and Shoes, to the Amount of 10,000 *l.* and lived for eight Days on Free Quarter. They assailed such as had promoted the new Levies in Behalf of the Government, in Sums beyond their Abilities, and plundered their Houses for Non-Payment, while Parties were sent out to the Towns and Countries around; *Renfrew, Paisley, and Lismahagoe*, which last they burnt, felt the dire Effects of their Vengeance; Lists of the People in Arms against them were procured, whom, with their Wives and Children, they treated with the Resentment of a provoked Enemy; the Country Farmers, whose Names had been taken up for bringing in Horses and Carts, were compelled to serve them in these Particulars: and here it is observable,

that such as joined them at *Edinburgh*, were more rigorous than the native Highlanders; for the Disaffected in *Scotland*, who have a small Knowledge of History, are more dangerous than those who have none at all!

The Highland Army being now sufficiently rested from their Fatigue, and recovered from their late Consternation, set out on the 2d, now the 13th of *January*, for *Stirling*, which was then almost open to receive them; as Col. *Price's*, and Col. *Ligonier's* Regiments of Foot, who for twenty Days were stationed at the Bridge, to prevent *Glengyle* and his *McGregors* from crossing the *Forth*, had with *Hamilton* and *Gardner's* Dragoons, retired the 23d of *December* to *Edinburgh*, on hearing of the Pretender's Return: The *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia followed next Day, and were kindly received into the City, now prepared and well fortified against an Attack, which was then apprehended, notwithstanding all Manner of Precaution.

The City was then greatly encouraged by Lieutenant-General *Guest*, upon whom, in General *Handaside's* Absence, the Command in *Scotland* was devolved.

On leaving *Glasgow*, they first moved toward *Edinburgh*, but soon turned about and proceeded, the one Column to *Cumbernauld*, and the other to *Kilsyth*, where next Evening

ing they arrived with the *Pretender*, while an advanced Party reached *Falkirk*. Two considerable Merchants were conducted as Hostages for Payment of what was wanting of the exorbitant Sums imposed upon the Town. Printing Materials and Workmen were likewise carried along.

While at *Kilfyth*, the *Adventurer* went to the House of Mr. *Campbell* of *Shawfield*, whose Steward was ordered to provide every Thing, and was promised Payment for it; but next Day he was told, that the Bill should be allowed to his Master at accounting for the Rents of *Kilfyth*, being a forfeited Estate. This was almost the usual Conduct of the *Pretender*, in Places whose Proprietors he judged not to be his Friends.

On *Saturday* the 4th, he marched toward *Stirling*, and *Bannockburn*, thinking that this Place, so famous for the Defeat of *Edward II.* *Anno 1314*, would prove equally favourably to him; and in the first Letter sent by old *Lovat*, his Lordship congratulated him upon the Omen, and prophecy'd Success from it.

Hence he sent for the respective Corps in the Northern Counties, and in the mean Time stopt the Avenues leading to *Stirling*, to prevent any Intelligence being brought to General *Blakeney*, then Governor of the Fort; the Town continued blocked up till the 8th,

when it fell into their Hands, after some Feints like those used at *Edinburgh* the *September* before.

But while the Adventurer was preparing every Thing to strengthen his Cause, and animate his Troops, General *Wade's* Army was advancing to beat up his Quarters, being encouraged by the Example of the Soldiers under his Royal Highness, and the unparalleled Generosity of the City of *London*, who so liberally contributed for their Support.

The Representatives of that Metropolis had opened a Subscription, to which Numbers repaired, among whom *Frederick* Prince of *Wales*, that Delight of Mankind, and Ornament of the *British* Nation, paid down 500*l*.

This Prince, like *Augustus Cæsar*, had something so free, so generous and majestic in his Air, that the Enemies of his Family, on seeing him, could not fail of losing their Inclination to hurt him; his Mein and Gesture were noble and manly, the Features of his Face were regular, his Complexion lively and fair, his Hair pale, his Nose straight and high, his Eyes large and full of Sweetness; his Stature was below a Medium, but not discernible, unless standing near a taller Person; he was a Patron of Arts and Sciences, an Encourager of Trade
and

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and Industry, and a Father to the Poor; a Model of Goodness, either as a Son, a Subject, an Husband, a Parent, a Prince, a Master or a Friend; his Death created more Grief, than did that of *Marcellus*, the Nephew and Son-in-Law of *Augustus*; and very justly, for the *one* died in the 20th, but the other in the 44th Year of his Age? he disdain'd national Distinctions, for I can remember with Pleasure, that when I had the Honour of being introduced to his Highness, he spoke in the most endearing Manner of the *Scottish* Nation.

*This Prince on Earth the Fates did just display,
But soon, too soon, the Gift was snatch'd away;
Had Britain still retain'd the glorious Prize,
Her Bliss had caus'd the Envy of the Skies.
How did the Thames from off his oozy Bed,
In that sad Moment raise his latent Head,
The pompous Tract and Fun'ral to survey,
When by the Prince's Tomb he shap'd his rapid
Way.*

*A Prince of nobler Parts did never rise,
Or deck like him the British Father's Eyes:
And Britain still may boast she never bore,
From Age to Age so brave a Son before.
Ah! how may Goodness, how may Truth repine,
And Mildness in the mournful Accents join?
Poor pity'd Youth! the Glory of the State,
Oh! hadst thou shun'd the dreadful Stroke of Fate,*

*Britain had then beheld with ravish'd Eyes,
Her Pride, her Glory, her Marcellus rise. **

The Name of the Prince of *Wales* was a sufficient Invitation; two Letters were wrote from the Managers, the one to the Duke, the other to M. *Wade*, proffering what was given in for the Encouragement of those under their respective Commands. An Answer came from his Highness accepting the Offer, and soon after another from M. *Wade*, narrating the Need which the Forces under him had of it.

On Receipt of these, the Lord Mayor on the 23d of *December*, convened the Committee appointed for managing the Bounty, and read the Letters before them, when they unanimously contracted for 12,000 Pair of Breeches, 12,000 Shirts, 10,000 woollen Caps, 10,000 Pair of woollen Stockings, 1000 Blankets, 12,000 Pair of knit woollen Gloves, and 9000 Pair of woollen Spatterdashes, which were directly sent them. 3000*l.* of the Subscription Money was set

* These Lines are taken from that inimitable Passage of the 6th Book of *Virgil's Æneid*, which he read before *Augustus Cæsar* and his Sister *Octavia*, in a private Room. On hearing the Name of her Son *Marcellus*, who was married to *Augustus's* Daughter, the Princess fainted away.

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apart for such Soldiers as should be wounded or maimed, and 300 *l.* was sent to *Wade*, to be applied according to his Direction. This Zeal of the Subjects, was only in Imitation of the King, who on the 27th of *November*, out of his private Purse, ordered each of the Soldiers under his Royal Highness and General *Wade* two Pair of Shoes; a noble Example of Goodness, and worthy that paternal Care and Clemency, which, with his heroic Virtues, render him worthy of the Encomium passed by *Virgil* upon *Augustus Cæsar*, which here I shall apply to him with a little Variation :

*Now fix your Sight, and stand intent to see,
The British Race, and George's Progeny!
The British Cæsar breaths the vital Hour,
Glad'ning the Earth he holds the poising Power.
But see, behold the King of Form Divine,
Ev'n George himself exalted in his Line,
Augustus promis'd oft, and long foretold,
Lent to the Realm that Edward rul'd of old,
Born to restore a better Age of Gold!
Afric and Indies, do his Power obey,
Reason by him extends her sacred Sway,
Beyond the solar Year, and the Ecliptic's Way!
The Ladron Isles, that China lie beyond,
Cape Horn itself, did see his Fleets abound,
With Brasil Spoils, that fill their Holds and Side,
Which hitherto the human Search defy'd;*

For

254 *The HISTORY of the*

*For in his Reign did distant Countries shake,
The Borneon Isle, and Parime's saline Lake.
Their Priests the Cross * discerned from afar,
Asham'd they fled as from a raging War.
Canton † and Plata § heard him at their Gates,
Ganges || and Nile ||| fled back to their Retreats.
Nor doubts he yet more Glory to pursue,
Tbro' Paths that hold more than a Crown in View!*

Thus far to pave the Way for an *English Addison*, a *French Fontanelle*, or an *Italian Tasso*, to write of the Time when *Britain* sat Mistress of the Nations, and Guardian of the Continent; when she fixt a King in *Naples*, in Opposition to the Court of *Vien-na*; restored Peace by her Mediation, between the Houses of *Bourbon* and *Austria*, then at War, about the Election of a King of *Poland*. This was the Reign in which the Marine of *France* was destroyed more than even by *Edward III*. This was the Reign in which the World was sailed round by an *Anson*, and more Discoveries made than by a *Drake*, a *Raleigh*, or by a *Magellan*. This was the Reign in which the Fi-

* The Badge of the Christian Religion.

† A River in *China*.

§ The River *Rio de la Plata* in *South America*.

|| A River in *India*.

||| A River in *Egypt*.

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sheries were settled, for putting the Northern in as flourishing a State as the Southern Provinces; and when a Bridge appeared over the *Thames*, that exceeds any in the World. 'Twas then that *England*, sensible of her native Liberty, stood up for her King, when an Enemy, supported by *France* and *Spain*, was within 100 Miles of her Capital, from the North. 'Twas then her King gave an Emperor to *Germany*! restored *Holland* to herself, in the Midst of Calamity, by fixing as Stadholder a Branch of the House of *Orange*, and who, when visited by Stroke upon Stroke, one Death succeeding another, behaved with a Resignation and Patience that procured him more Glory than the Laurels at *Dettingen* and at *Oudenarde*!

The poor Men, now relieved by the Goodness of the King, and their Fellow Subjects, were enabled to go thro' their Hardships; for allured with the View of restoring the publick Peace, animated with the Hopes of Conquest, and prompted from a Principle of Gratitude to their Sovereign, they marched into *Scotland* in Pursuit of the Enemy, in order at one Blow to attain the End proposed.

The Gentlemen of the Counties thro' which they passed, contributed a Fund for their Refreshment; each Soldier had a Pound of Beef, a Pound of Bread, a Glass,
equal

equal to two Thirds of a Quartern, full of good Spirits, and a Quart of *Scotch Ale*; besides the People of the Country supplied them so liberally, that their Kindness was look'd upon as pouring Water into the Ocean.

About Six o'Clock of the 2d of *January*, the first Division enter'd *Edinburgh*, whose Streets were lin'd with 4000 of the Militia, who were that Day reviewed in *St. Anne's Yard*, and went thro' their Exercise with an uncommon Alacrity; the Windows were illuminated, the People huzza'd, and warm Quarters were assigned. On the Night of *Saturday* the 4th, Major-General *Husk* arrived with a numerous Corps, to the great Joy both of Citizens and Soldiers, as did Mr. *Thornton*, with his Troops. And on the 6th, General *Hawley* came in. He was met by the Dragoons at *Preston Pans*, nigh where the Battle was fought; but he upbraided them with their Cowardice, desiring them to put up their Swords at that Time, and use them better in the Hour of Action. Next Day, Brigadier *Cholmondley's*, Colonel *Wolfe's*, with the *Old Buffs*, under Gen. *Howard*, arrived, as did Col. Sir *Robert Munro's* on the 8th. All these by the Way of *Haddington*, where, and in every other Place, they met with the kindest Reception, the People for ten Miles round, going to meet them

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them with their Horses. On the 10th, General *Barrel's* and *Pultney's* came up; so that the whole being now ready for Action, and near the Enemy, nothing remained but to march to *Stirling*, and dispossess them of their Posts, only it was judged proper to wait a little for refreshing the Men, whose Spirits soon were recruited. They were lodged in the empty Buildings of the Town, the Inhabitants furnishing them 3000 Blankets, which when the Army marched to attack the Enemy, they did not so much as demand.

But while the Troops were successively coming up to *Edinburgh*; such as had first arrived, were not unemployed: For as the great Care and Anxiety of the Enemy was to have up their Artillery, so the greatest Care was requisite from the King's Officers to prevent it.

For the Pretender had no sooner come to *Bannockburn*, than he dispatched Lord *George Murray* to *Alloa*, to confer with Lord *John Drummond* about transporting the Cannon upon Floats: After surveying the Passages of the *Forth*, it was agreed to carry them over on a Brig which they had seized; and in the mean Time, to erect a Battery on the Pier of *Alloa*, and another at *Heigens Nuick*, in both which they met with Difficulties and were oppos'd.

For

For the *Pearl* was already lying off these Places, and gave some Uneasiness, to remove which, they with great Labour brought two heavy Cannon of 12 Pounders about by the *Frew*, while a Battery of three, and another of four Pieces, which they carried from *Glasgow*, and was supported by 400 Men, were planted upon the Hill of *Airth*. Captain *Faulkner* in the *Vulture*, being arrived at *Inverkeithen* Road, sent a Cutter and some Boats before him for Intelligence.. These sailed up to *Kincardin* Road, where they saw the Brig of Passage come out of *Airth*, and having got into the Road next Morning, they were informed, that a Brig and two Vessels were lying at *Kincardin* ready to be seized: On which several Boats well manned sailed in, and burnt them without any Loss, notwithstanding some Platoons from the Town: In the mean Time, the Tide fell so low, that she could not return that Night to the Road, but lay exposed to a Battery of three Pieces of Cannon, which in the Morning the Enemy opened against her. Their Fire was answered so well, that two of their Pieces was dismounted, one of their Engineers killed, and *Perth* wounded in the Groin, which with a ruffling in his Thigh, occasioned by his Foot slipping into the Hold of the Brig, hindered his farther acting. The
Enemy

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Enemy being driven from the Town and Battery, shifted to the Point of *Elphinston*, where four Guns were erected for securing the Pass.

Col. *Leighton* came to the Assistance of the *Pearl* and *Vulture* with 300 Men, on the 9th, when 50 of his Corps were sent in a large Boat with the Ships Boats manned and armed, to lie all Night above *Alloa*, and prevent the Brig's sailing out of the Harbour. On passing the Town, they grounded, and were discovered; the Enemy beat to arms, and fired from Right to Left for near half a Mile upon them, without any further Success than killing one Man, and shooting off the Leg of another. For as the Sand for a considerable Space from Shore, was somewhat quick, and the Sea about three Feet deep, the Enemy thought it improper to run in their usual precipitate Manner upon them, since in their Way, they must be cut in Pieces by the Fire of regular Troops, who only waited the floating of their Boats, and then sailed off, with a Resolution to try their Fortune next Morning in another Manner.

Accordingly Col. *Leighton's* Men were landed, while two Sloops within Musket-Shot attacked the Battery at *Elphinston*, and dismounted three of its Guns; one of the Vessels, having her Cable cut by

a Cannon Shot, was by the Strength of the Ebb forced from her Station ; and the two Pilots in the other having each lost a Leg, the Enterprize was given up, with the Loss of only two Sailors killed, and about twelve wounded ; this Sea Expedition retarded their Measures for attacking *Stirling* Castle ; for in the Day Time, General *Blakeney* so narrowly observed them, that they durst not approach ; and in the Night they were busied in getting over their Cannon, so that it was the 12th of *January* before the whole was transported.

But while this was doing, their Troops in and about *Perth* were hastening to *Stirling*. In the Morning of the 11th, the *McDonalds* under *Barisdale* and *Moidart* set out, as did the *Frasers*, under the Master of *Lovat* in the Afternoon, and next Day, the *McIntoshes* and *Farquarsons* followed : They were supplied with Powder and Ball from two small Sloops which came from *Dundee*, loaded with Pick Axes, Shovels, Biscuit, Wine and Spirits, 15 swivel Guns, and 500 *French* Firelocks for a Regiment to be levied for one Major *Nairn*.

By the 14th, the Enemies Forces were got together, with all their Cannon, consisting of two Pieces of 16 Pounders, three of three Pounders, and eleven of a less Size. They now possessed the whole West Country,

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try, over which they tyrannized, snatching from the Country People their Substance wantonly, and in the most oppressive Manner; while the Northern Coast was guarded by 1000 Men, composed of 400 *French*, 300 *Gordons*, and as many of the *Angus* Militia, under Sir *James Kinloch* of *Navey*, for protecting of their Magazines.

The Generals of the King's Army, being informed of the Distress of *Stirling* Castle, then surrounded by them, and of the Devastation committed upon the Neighbourhood, prepared for the Relief of both. The Country Militia were sent to their respective Homes, with Orders to be ready at a Call, and only the *Edinburgh* Regiment with the City Guard were left in that Place.

On the 13th, Major-General *Husk* marched with the Regiments of *Cholmondley*, *Price*, *Batterau* and *Munro*, the *Glasgow* Militia, *Hamilton's* and *Gardner's* Dragoons. By 4 o'Clock at Night, they arrived at the East End of *Linlithgow*, while about 1100 under Lord *George Murray* and Lord *Elcho*, who had come that Morning from *Falkirk* for Provision, were retiring over the Bridge at the West End of the Town. Next Day the Regiments of *Howard*, *Pultney* and *Barrell*, marched to *Borrowstounness*; and on the 15th, *Fleming's*, *Blakeney's*, and a Battalion of *Sinclair's* followed. On the 16th, General

ral *Hawley* set out, as did ten Pieces of Cannon, that were brought from the Castle of *Edinburgh*, which were followed by General *Cobham's* Dragoons, who passed the City from *Dalkeith* without halting; Squire *Thornton* likewise follow'd with his *Yorkshire* Blues, as did several other Volunteers.

That very Day, General *Husk* marched with eight Regiments to *Falkirk*, where at Night the whole Army arrived, and encamped to the Westward of the Town; and next Day 1300 of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, under Lieutenant Colonel *Campbell* came up to the Camp, by the Way of *Glasgow* and *Linlithgow*, where they were received with the greatest Joy; for, like the other Troops, they carry'd Provision along.

The Armies being now so near, a Battle must inevitably ensue, and accordingly, on the 17th, they came to a Sort of Action, of which there have been the most contradictory and various Accounts; but of which this seems to me to be the true.

The King's Troops were kept in Readiness for an Attack, Centries being placed for a Mile round, while the Enemy was not idle to observe every Advantage and embrace every Opportunity. The former resolved to wait the Enemy in their Camp, while these determined in the Twilight to proceed and attack the King's Forces.

Early

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Early next Morning, all, except a few left at *Stirling*, for pushing the Siege, or rather for securing their Retreat, were drawn up in Order of Battle, a Mile East of *Bannockburn*, within four Miles of the Royalists, who taking longer Time to form than first was expected, they continued under Arms, waiting for *Hawley*, who not moving forward, Lord *George Murray* put himself at the Head of the Army in two Columns, in order to attack him; passed the *Carron* at *Dunnipace*, where they first had a View of the Royalists, and raised a chearful Huzza. By this Time Lord *John Drummond*, who that Day commanded the left Wing, had gone with most of the Horse to reconnoitre. He made a Feint of marching by the North Side of the *Torwood*, in order to attack the King's Men, who upon seeing them, began to draw up in Order of Battle to receive them. *Hawley* being told that the Rebels did not advance, their Colours remaining fast in the Wood, and judging that the Corps observed was the main Body, gave Allowance to the Troops to dine, which they had scarce done, when the Enemy was seen marching towards some rising Grounds upon a Muir, a Mile Southwest from *Falkirk*; on which the Troops got under Arms, formed in the Front of the Camp, and bent their March to hinder their getting Possession

sion of the Ground; but in vain, for now they were upon it, and huzza'd the Royalists as they advanced, being animated with having the Wind then blowing from the South upon their Backs.

The first Line of the King's Army extending from Left to Right, was composed of the Regiments of *Wolf*, *Cholmondley*, *Pultney*, one Battalion of the Royal Scots, *Price's* and *Ligonier's* in the Centre, with the Dragoons on the Left; the second was made up of *Blakeney's*, *Munro's*, *Fleming's*, *Barrel's*, and *Batterau's*; *Howard's*, alias the Buffs, were behind upon the Right, the *Glasgow* and *Paisley* Militia at some Farm Houses upon the Left, and the *Argyleshire* Highlanders were at several Passes for securing the Baggage behind the Whole.

The Rebel Army extended from Right to Left; the Battalions of *Keppoch*, *Clanranald*, *Appin* and *Locheol*, who had three Battalions, *Cluny* and the Master of *Lovat* in the first Line; two Battalions of *Athol* Men, two of the *Angus* Militia under Lord *Ogilvy*, two under Lord *Lewis Gordon*, the *Farquarson's* of *Braemar*, and the *McKenzie's*, under the Earl of *Cromarty*, and his Son in the second Line; the Pretender with about 450 Horse attended by the *French* Ambassador was in the Rear, almost opposite to the Centre, but more inclining to the Right; and

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and as there was a Morass on the Left of the King's Army, so the Right of the King's outlined the Left of the Enemy, which was almost opposite to the Center of the Royalists.

The Dragoons stationed upon the Right with the Artillery were pretty near due South and North, forming almost a right Angle with the front Line of the Foot, which was inclined North-East, the Space between the two Lines widening toward the Right: And any Person would have been apt to think, that an Army of 8500 Men, 6000 of which were regular Troops, might have defeated the Forces of the Enemy then consisting of about 9000, had not some unlucky Accidents happened, such as the Army took an unseasonable Dinner, and did not proceed against the Enemy at first Sight, by which Means these got the Advantage of the Ground, the Wind and the Rain: But what was worse, General *Hawley*, whose Place of Residence while at *Falkirk* was unknown to the Army, and which the Country People gave out to have been at *Callendar* House, drinking warm Possets with the Countess of *Kilmarnock*, came up, and at the Head of the Dragoons posted on at an hard Trot, against the Enemy Sword in Hand, leaving the Foot a considerable Way behind them: Lieutenant Col. *Whitney* led his Regiment up to the very

N

Muzzle

Muzzle of their Guns, and being some few Paces before the other, he call'd out to *John Roy Stuart* whom he knew, " Ah, and are " you there? We shall soon be up with " you," to which the other reply'd, " You " shall be welcome when you come, and By " G—d, you shall meet with a warm Re- " ception;" the Dialogue was scarce over when the Dragoons were ready to break in, but received so full a Fire in their Breasts, from the Battalions of *Appin, Keppoch, Clanranald*, and *Lockeol*, as made them to reel, and run upon the *Glasgow* Militia in Spight of their Riders, who according to the Confession of some Rebel Officers who had been abroad, " behav'd as well as Men could " possibly do:" At this Time a Storm of Wind and Rain drove full in the Faces of the Royalists, who, observing the Disaster, began to fire, tho' very irregularly, and unfortunately killed some of their own Men; the Foot being now disordered, a Flight ensued almost of all the first and second Line, except *Ligonier's*, and *Barrel's*, whom Brigadier General *Cholmondley* rallied and brought up to the Charge, animating them by his own Example; the Rebels began to pursue, threw down their Guns, and with their usual Impetuosity run down the Hill upon the Royalists now broke and flying before them; General *Husk* whose Name will shine in the *British Annals*,

as the Deliverer of the King's Army on that Day, caused the above two Regiments to wheel and give a close Fire, which made them retire with Precipitation; they endeavoured to come upon his Corps Sword in Hand, but these being joined by the *Buff's* and *Royal Scots*, who had made a Motion to the Right, fired so smartly upon them, that their Fury was effectually checked: While this is doing, General *Mordaunt* rallied some Regiments, to which, several who had separated from their own Corps had repaired: Col. *Francis Ligonier* a French Protestant, who, ten Days after died of a Quinsey at *Edinburgh*, brought back the Horse to the Charge, and drew them up to the Right of General *Husk's* Division, who was now loudly calling out for *Hawley* to receive Orders; but *Hawley* was retiring with the broken Troops to *Falkirk*, where they halted and drew up: In this Situation they continued till near Night, which being very stormy, it was judged proper to withdraw from the Field for fear of being surprized in the Night-time, or by the Dawn of next Morning: Accordingly they marched off with all Marks of Honour, after setting Fire to the Tents, which only the Rain prevented from being totally consumed: By the Time they arrived at *Falkirk* it was almost dark, and therefore it was agreed to march the Troops

to *Linlithgow* to be under Cover and to be free from any Ambush; they marched along the *Argileshire* Militia, then drawn up in a Line at the East End of *Callendar Park*, and as the last Division was marching from the East, *Locheol* with the first Division of the Enemy was entering the West End of the Town; at twelve at Night General *Husk* arrived at *Linlithgow*, and next Day at *Edinburgh*, where all Necessaries were assigned them; the Dragoons were sent to *Musleburgh*, *Dalkeith*, *Haddingtoun*, and other Places in the *Lothians*, while the *Campbell's* were stationed at *Cramond* and *Carstorphine*.

In this Battle about 200 were killed of the King's Troops, 170 of which were Dragoons, among whom Lieut. Col. *Whitney*, Cornets *Monk*, and *Crow*, of Col. *Gardner's* Dragoons, Cornet *Smith* of General *Hamilton's*; Captains *Todd*, *Kellet*, *Dalrymple*, *Edmonson*, and Lieut. *Fairfield* of General *Blakeney's*; Captains *Dalton*, *Goring*, *Hamilton*, *Landers*, *Hale*, and Lieutenant *Hickson* of *Wolf's*; Captains *Ostepo*, and *Hacker* of *Howard's*; with Lieut. Col. *Powel* of *Cholmondley's* Regiment; Lieut. Col. *Biggar*, with Captains *Hall* and *Wetheral*, of the Regiment of Col. *Munro*, which last being on Horseback and receiving a Ball in the Breast dropt; his Brother *Duncan* a Physician, who was lame and unarmed, rode in to dress his Wound; but they
were

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were both terribly slaughtered to such a Degree, that had not Sir *Robert* been known by his Corpulency, his Face could not be distinguished next Day by Lord *Elcho*, who caused him and *Whitney* to be put into a Cart, and carried to *Falkirk*, where they were both honourably interred.

What made the Loss among the Officers so great, was, that they formed in a Body, even when deserted by the private Men; about 200 were taken Prisoners, with some Officers, among whom, Lieut. *George Cumming* of *Alter*, and Captain *Fitzgerald*, the rest were for most part of the Volunteers, the *Glasgow*, and other Militia. Captain *Thorntoun*, with 17 of his Company shared the same Fate, but afterward escaping, he came to a Man's House in *Falkirk*, who generously concealed him in a Chest, even while the Rebels were in the Room in Quest of him: Seven Pieces of Cannon fell into their Hands, Col. *Cunningham* having cowardly deserted the Train, and only three were saved by the Soldiers, who drew them by Ropes off the Field.

Of the Enemy were killed about 300, and as many wounded, among whom, Lord *John Drummond* through the fleshy Part of the Arm, by a Random Shot from one of the Soldiers Firelocks at *Falkirk*; *Locheol* and his Brother were wounded in the Field, with

Captain *Farquarson* of *Balmoral*; one Major *McDonald* of *Keppoch's* Regiment, was taken Prisoner in the following Manner: He had mounted one of the Dragoon Horses, who, on hearing the Drums beat to rally, rode furiously off with him, and notwithstanding his utmost Efforts to throw himself off, or to keep back the Creature, he was carried into the Midst of the Troop, where he began to act as one of the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, till General *Husk* observing him, ordered him to be seized, which was accordingly done; he was conducted next Day to *Edinburgh*, amidst a Party of 20 Horses, having on him a Dragoon's Cloak whom he had killed, and being brought before the Justice Clerks Lodging, he staid there till a Warrant committing him Prisoner to the Castle was served.

I shall conclude the Account of this ill managed Affair with observing, that the Enemy never had, or could wish for a more favourable Opportunity for using their Broad Swords than the 17th of *January* 1746, when the Soldiers Clothes were wet through, not one Gun of five would fire, and not the twentieth Man of the Army discharged, the Firelocks being so spoiled that the Powder would not burn, and the Men prevented from Loading by the Violence of the Storm: But as Nothing happens in the Course of
Things

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Things without Instruments, so here; the very keenest for the Pretender's Interest, and the most experienced for conducting his Scheme, were on that Day the Ruin of both!

When the Dragoons first gave Way, and a Detachment of their Cavalry was just on the Spur to pursue, *Roy Stuart* then *Aid de Camp*, cry'd out, "Gentlemen keep your Ground, these are only *Cope's* Dragoons, "you have the Battle yet to fight;" his Orders being obeyed, they fired some random Shot at the poor Men who were sitting up to recover their Breath, of which, the Violence wherewith the Horses threw them on the Ground had depriv'd them; while others with their Broad Swords, tryed the Experiment to cut off the Heads of some by a single Stroke; this not succeeding by means of a Chain that fastens their Cap to their Shoulders, *Steuart* drew out his Dagger and call'd out, "Come Gentlemen, I will shew you the Method how to do," he was immediately surrounded by Crowds, and in their Presence, plunged the Weapon into the Throat of one of the Dragoons, who fell down waltering in his Gore, for the few Minutes that his Life was gushing through the Wound he had received.

Col. *Drummond* likewise was an Obstruction, for observing the *Scots Royal* to wheel, he took the same for a Flight, and said,

“ These Men behaved admirably well at
 “ *Fontenoy*, and now they are flying, I fear
 “ an Ambuscade,” and directly ordered
 them to stand: At last, when General *Husk*
 had marched from the Field, the Earl of
Kilmarnock being well acquainted with the
 Country, offered to lead a Detachment to
Linlithgow, thro’ a much nearer Road than
 that of *Falkirk*, in order to intercept the
 Troops now harrassed, defenceless, fatigued,
 and disheartened, but in this he was opposed;
 and ’tis my humble Opinion, that next Day
 500 Desperadoes might have destroy’d the
 whole Army; some of whom were so weak
 thro’ want of Food as not to be able to carry
 their Firelocks: In the mean while, the Ene-
 my were disposing of the Prisoners in the
 Churches and Prisons of *Falkirk* and *Stir-
 ling*, and afterward in *Down Castle*, and else-
 where; they were particularly severe upon
 the Volunteers, among whom, Doctor *Wil-
 liam McGhie*, who was Son of as fine a Gen-
 tleman as ever breathed, and once an Orna-
 ment to the Church of *Scotland*.

Next Day the Chevalier gave a Summons
 in the Morning, and another in the After-
 noon to the Castle of *Stirling* to surrender;
 but General *Blakeney* reply’d; “ I was always
 “ look’d upon as a Man of Honour, and
 “ you shall find I will die so:” This An-
 swer, seconded by the vigorous Efforts of

600 Men in Garrison, with the Rebels Unfitness for investing Towns, made the Siege proceed but slowly; the *Highlanders*, the Flower of their Army, refused to go near the Batteries, as they observed the constant Fire upon the Workmen then employed in placing the Fascines, of which they had collected a great Number: The *Irish* Brigades, and Col. *Drummond's* Regiment were therefore ordered to the Service; but these had been so much diminished by Desertion and the late Battle, that scarce 300 remained to assist at the Batteries, two of which were completed on the 24th, and under Cover of some Wool Packs were opened against the Walls, the upper Part of which they beat down, and had not their Pieces been dismounted, the Place must have fallen into their Hands; on which they retired out of Reach of the Castle Guns, and turned the Siege into a Blockade, discharging under Pain of Death, the Inhabitants of the Town from going near the Castle, or corresponding in any Way with the Soldiers of the Garrison.

Any one may figure to himself the Hardships of the Prisoners in a Country where the Enemy reigned; snatched up every Thing, and yet wanted Provisions; to which the burning of their Boats not a little contributed: And now Disputes began to creep in among them; for at the late Action, the

Clans and *French* Piquets only stood in the Field, for some of the *Angus* Battalions, and those who joined them at *Edinburgh*, betook themselves to Flight in an Instant, notwithstanding the Remonstrance of the *Chevalier*, who, in an Account published by themselves, “flew to rally them with an “Ardour that could not be restrained,” they soon came before *Stirling*, where they gave out to *Perth*, then indisposed since his Misfortune at *Airth*, “that all was gone;” the former complained that the whole Weight fell upon them, and that if once they were exhausted, they could not be recruited from the Places whence they came. *O Sullivan* and *Sheridan* began now to be envied, for these Men who had almost nothing to lose, were supposed to have too much of the Pretender’s Ear, and solely to govern his Counsels, while they whose Fortunes stood engaged, were too much neglected; the Disgust being observed, the *Chevalier* advanced each of their Officers a Rank higher than he was, smoothed them with fair Promises from *France*, and treated them with some more seeming Confidence, tho’ the two Politicians reigned in his Cabinet, and at the general Consultations their Opinions deservedly prevailed.

But a little Accident, as in other Cases seem’d to prognosticate something still more fatal

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fatal to them: One *McDonald* of *Glanranald's* Family, Servant to *Glengary's* second Son, then a Colonel among them, being in a Room with his Master, and handling one of the Firelocks, which were left upon the Field; the Piece in which were three Balls, went off, shot the Colonel through the Liver and in two other Places; the Man was directly confined, and Justice demanded of him; his Master declared his Innocence, but his own Friends insisted he should die, for say they, "if he live it will be but the Beginning of a Grudge between the two Families;" accordingly he was shot and his own Father was the last to pour a Brace of Balls into him to relieve him from his Pain.

But tho' the Master forgave his Servant, and that more than Justice was done, yet Dejectedness was visible among them, to remove which, the Chevalier carried the Colonels Head to the Grave of Sir *John Graham*, who fell in the great Battle between *Edward I.* and Sir *William Wallace*, 22d of July, 1296 * from which Time it had not been opened till now, that Mr. *McDonald the Patriot* was laid in the Burial Place of that ancient Warrior.

* I know that *Rapin* says this Action happened in 1302; but I have seen the Archives of the Kingdom, and likewise the Stone that lyes on his Grave.

It will not appear incredible, that the Enemy gave out that the Victory at the late Battle was easy and wholly upon their Side; they published an Account from *Bannockburn*, in which they set forth, that they had killed 600 Men, taken 700 Prisoners, all the Tents, Baggage, Arms, Ammunition, and Artillery; attributed the Escape of the King's Troops to the Storm, which, with the Inequalities of the Ground, interspersed with Risings and Hollows, hindered their Right from perceiving what was doing on their Left; they diminished their Loss only to 40 killed, among whom, two Captains, and some Subalterns, and about 80 wounded: But so little Weight had these Boastings, that the Inhabitants of the Country continued their Kindness to the King's Troops, and did Things highly irritating to the Enemy.

For the Populace who on the 16th liberated the Officers taken at *Preston*, from their Confinement at *St Andrews*, *Cowper*, *Leslie*, *Glamis*, *Culross* and *Pitfirren*, conducted them to *Edinburgh*, where on the 19th they arrived; they did not however dress like military Men till *February* the 1st, that the Duke was chasing the Enemy before him; this Conduct was called by the Name of Perjury, from whence they chuse to be excused, in Consideration of the Bond betwixt them and the Pretender being broken, as he was.

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was no longer in the same Capacity as at entering into the verbal Engagement; and that he was now flying before the King's Troops, incapable of supporting the Dignity and Name he had assumed.

The Generals ever since their Arrival at *Edinburgh* were preparing for a second Battle. A Court Martial, of which *B. Mordaunt* was President, sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers for misbehaving at the late Action, and of the Deserters found on Board the *Lewis* Privateer; the other Prisoners taken in that Vessel having been transported to *London* sometime before: Many of the former were terribly whip'd, and some of the latter were hanged, particularly four in one Morning; they continued on the Gibbet till next Day; an unusual Sight in *Edinburgh* where four had not been hanged at a Time since the 27th of *July*, 1681, that five Presbyterian Ministers were executed on the Day preceeding the Duke of *York's* Parliament.

I hope it will appear no national Reflection, if I say, that these four Deserters were *Irish*; and indeed, tho' they had much to advance in their own Exculpation, yet *Hawley*, then chagrined at his late Disappointment, would hear of no Defence, but executed his Vengeance upon the Natives of a Country, against which, and against the
Scots,

Scots, he was groundlessly prejudiced; the Sight, which I myself saw, was indeed shocking to every Person, especially such as were accustomed to no such Views; for its observable, that scarce a Dozen of People are hanged in *Scotland* in seven Years; and its well known, that from *April* 14, 1731, that a poor Creature was executed for stealing a Horse, none suffered at *Edinburgh* till *September* 10, 1735, when a wretched Parricide was hung in Chains for the shocking and inhuman Murder of his Mother, whom by Instinct, and every Tie sacred and human, he was bound to caress and regale. I should not have dwelt so long upon this, if I had not seen some Soldiers, in whose very Faces was an upright Chearfulness, who had deserted from Lord *John Drummond's* Corps, after the Battle, come to *Edinburgh* at the Peril of their Lives, deliver themselves up to their Officers, and by their Intelligence, greatly animate the Troops. The Officers were *Cholmondley* and *Mordaunt*, who received them very kindly, and spoke to them in a most friendly Manner; what Pity would it have been, had the poor Men been hanged, which certainly must have been the Case, had they been taken on Board of the Vessel, which conducted Lord *John Drummond* into *Scotland*!

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Before the 25th, every Thing was almost ready for a second Engagement; the Army was reinforced by General *Campbell* and Brigadier *Semple's* Regiments, the Military Chest escorted by a Troop of *St. George's* Dragoons, had arrived, and certainly they would have tried the Matter again, tho' perhaps with little Success, as the private Men did not relish *Hawley*, had they not been informed by an Express, that his Royal Highness the Duke was coming down.

The Accounts being brought to Court, caus'd an Astonishment proportionable to the Confidence of the Rebellion having breathed her last! For on the 24th, the King had made a Speech to his Parliament; in which, after observing "the steady Loyalty of his
" Subjects, he mentioned the Flight of the
" Enemy out of *England*, before a small
" Number of his Troops: That he had
" sent such a Body of his National Forces
" to *Scotland*, as could not fail with the
" *Hessians*, whom he ordered to land there,
" to extinguish the Rebellion in a short
Time." He informed them of the Election of an Emperor by his Means; of the Peace concluded at *Dresden*, between the Emperor, the Kings of *Poland* and *Prussia*, which happened in Consequence of the Convention betwixt him and the last named Monarch:—The Succours he procured to
be

be sent into *Italy*, and of the “*pressing Instances*, made to him by the States General, for Assistance against the Attempts of Enemies on their Barrier.” Both Houses drew up an Address, in which they congratulated him on the Success of his Arms, under his Royal Highness, returned their most humble Thanks for his Paternal Care in the whole of his Conduct,—assured him of the great Pleasure they took in the several Things he had done, both at Home and Abroad, and of their Fidelity to him on all Occasions.

One cannot be surprized, that a Consternation accompanied the News of the late unfortunate Action, since the Scene was judged to have closed from the View of the miserable State of the Rebel Prisoners, who marched out of *Carlisle* January 10, with their Legs fettered below their Horses Bellies, who were tied to each other's Tail, the common Men on Foot, two a Breast, each having their Arms tied with a Rope going between, as the King's Soldiers had been used after the Battle of *Preston*, when sent to *Perth*; two Dragoons headed the Cavalcade, one of them holding the Rope, two bringing up the Rear, and a Party supporting the Whole.

To recover People from their Surprise, the King ordered sixteen Pieces of Brass Cannon.

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Cannon with Stores, forty Gunners and Matrosses, to set out from *Newcastle* for the Army, where on the 26th they arrived; he likewise commanded the Dragoons of General *Bland*, and *St. George*, with the Duke of *Kingston's* Horse, to reinforce General *Hawley*, with whose Conduct he declared himself so well pleased, as to continue him in his Station, but yet over whom he sent his own Son to command.

The End of the SIXTH BOOK.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK VII.

CONTENTS.

The Duke of Cumberland's Arrival in Scotland. The Retreat of the Pretender to Inverness. The Siege of the Castle there. The Landing of the Hessians. The Skirmish at Golspie, and the Battle of Culloden.

NO sooner was the News of the Battle of *Falkirk* confirmed at Court, than his Royal Highness flew like an Arrow to check the Pretender's Progress. He set out from *St. James's* on the 25th, about One o'Clock in the Morning. Fears at his Approach,

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proach, like Vapours before the Sun, dissolve as he goes. And as the natural Sun communicates of his genial Heat to the Bodies around him, in Proportion to their Progress in the Ecliptic; so the further our King's Son proceeds, the more of his Influence was tendered to the People, who run from twenty Miles round to see him. By the Way of *Newcastle* and *Berwick*, he arrived at the Abbey of *Holyroodhouse*, upon the 30th, about Three o'Clock in the Morning, attended by *James Duke of Athole*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, afterwards Ambassador in *France*, his Son Lord *Bury*, Lord *Catcart*, Col. *York*, now Ambassador in *Holland*, and some other Officers.

The City, in Expectation of him the Night before, expressed her Joy for the Coming of her Deliverer, by the most splendid Illuminations, Ringing of Bells, and other Demonstrations of Gladness. Numbers, tho' the Day was desperately cold, run out to meet him. He went to Bed, rose at Eight, then dressed, and received such as came to him.

The General Officers first waited on him with an Account of what was past; the Soldiers much disheartned at the late Disaster, and repining at *Hawley's* Severity, crowded to him. His very Presence, in which was stamped a certain majestic Nobleness, and
tender

tender Sympathy, raised them almost from Despair, to a Confidence of Victory; and as two of them, then Prisoners in the *Canon-gate*, were to have been hanged that Morning, his pardoning of them diffused a general Joy! The Army now resolved to do, or to die with him, had an Emulation to speak, and to know something of him. The Widows of the deceased mangled Patriots, who filled the Streets, and rended the Air, with the bitterest Shrieks, and the most piercing Groans for the Loss of their Husbands; the Orphans and Childless hoped the Vengeance due to the Deaths of their best Friends was approaching; and no sooner did they set their Eyes upon him, than a thousand Blessings distilled from their Mouths. Scarce had he got rid of the Compliments of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Masters of the University, than unable to stay a Moment from Action, he walked down Stairs, and viewed the sixteen Pieces of Cannon in the Close. As he came out of the Gate, the Drums ruffed, a loud and continued Huzza ensued; the Aged blessed him, and shed Tears of Joy; the Young admired him, while those of middle Years desired only to die in a Field under his Command; “O
“ what Difference between him and the o-
“ ther Prince, he looks far better than he,”

was

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was the Language of the affected Multitude. Incapable of beholding so moving a Scene, he passed along the Cannon placed in two parallel Lines; and upon the very Spot where the Pretenders stood before, never taking his Eye from off them, and looking all the while calm and serene. This being over, he returned to Dinner, and then began to concert the Operations. The Arms and Ammunition of the Soldiers being found in good Order, and the Men full of Courage, which is by far the most powerful Weapon, it was secretly resolved to march by Four in the Morning, while the Report was spread, that he was to wait at *Edinburgh* for Reinforcements.

This Piece of Intelligence was carried to the Enemy, who well knowing what the Duke was capable of, did not suffer themselves to be amus'd. By the appointed Time, the Soldiers were under Arms, and in half an Hour they set out in two Columns, consisting of fourteen Battalions of Foot, the *Argyleshire* Highlanders, *Cobham's* and Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons; which last, with the Regiments of *Semple*, and the *Scots* Fuzileers, made up their Loss, at the late Battle, and the Absence of the Dragoons of *Hamilton* and *Ligonier*, who were ordered to patrol along the Roads leading Westward, to prevent Intelligence coming

coming to the Enemy, and for stopping all except such as were furnished with a Pass from a General Officer, Lord Justice Clerk, or were bringing Provision, Forage or Information along. Major-General *Husk* led the Van, and the Artillery brought up the Rear.

About Nine, his Highness entred a Coach, which had been sent him by the Earl of *Hoptoun*; and at *Castle-Barnes*, within half a Mile of *Edinburgh*, he mounted a Horse, came quickly up with the Troops, put himself at the Head of the *Scots* Royal, and arrived at *Lithgow* that Night, with eight Battalions: Brigadier *Mordaunt* with six others marching to *Borrowstouness*, the Dragoons to the adjacent Villages, with the *Argyle-shire* Men in Front toward the *Avon*. Next Day the whole Army joined to the Westward of *Lithgow*, and was formed in Order of Battle by their Royal Leader, who as they passed said, “ Gentlemen, I know
 “ there are a great many *Scots* in the Army,
 “ and if there are any unwilling to fight
 “ against their Countrymen, whom we have
 “ the near Prospect of engaging, let them
 “ retire, they shall have my Discharge with
 “ Pleasure, and their Conduct shall never
 “ be attributed to Cowardice or Fear, to
 “ engage in the hottest or most terrible Actions.” The whole answered with repeated

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peated Acclamations, and the two poor Soldiers who had been pardoned on the Day of his Arrival, were the first to raise an Huzza! As the Highlanders passed along, he seem'd much delighted with their Appearance; "they look very well, have Breeches, and are the better for that. I wish I had my Highlanders here."

This being over, they marched with the utmost Alacrity, expecting every Moment to engage; but to their Disappointment upon their Arrival at *Falkirk*, about Ten in the Morning, no Enemy was near them: But oh! who can tell the Joy of the wounded Men who were made Prisoners on the 17th, when their Deliverer came to release them, and to avenge their Sufferings! Brigadier *Mordaunt* was immediately detached to *Stirling*, with the Dragoons and *Campbells* in Pursuit of the Enemy, who were now beyond their Reach.

For on hearing the Arrival of his Highness, they held a Council of War, in which the Pretender and the foreign Officers declared for fighting; but Lord *George Murray* and the Chieftains, urged a Retreat, alledging the Increase of the Royal Army, and the Diminution of their own; as 1500 Highlanders had repaired to their Habitations, with the rich Spoils of *England*, and of the Southern Parts of *Scotland*, and with the

the Booty got at *Preston-Pans* and *Falkirk*. The Arguments for the latter prevailed upon the whole. On the 31st, they moved off their Baggage, with about 20 Pieces of Cannon, having spiked up some others; crossed the *Forth* at the *Frew*; where being alarmed with a terrible Burst of Powder, which they looked on as an Attack upon their Rear, they doubled their Flight to *Crief*, where, in a Council of War, they appointed *Inverness* for the Place of Rendezvous.

This Report was occasioned by the blowing up of the Church of *St. Ninian*, in which was deposited a considerable Quantity of Powder and Ball, to which they attempted to set Fire before their Retreat, but the Train missed: About seven Stragglers who lagged behind, went to the Church in Quest of Booty, a great Quantity whereof it then was the Repository; in the mean Time, a private Man called *McIntosh*, at the Desire of a *French* Engineer, fired a Pistol through the Window, and among the Powder, which with a sudden Shock, blew the Plunderers, the Incendiary, the Pews and the Roof up in the Air; the Stones scattered about the Churchyard, and struck some of the Town's People; while the Country around was stunned at the terrible Convulsion, and the Army rightly looked upon it as an Indication of the Retreat of the Enemy; who at *Crief* divided

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divided into two Bodies, one of whom took the Rout of *Perth*, which they continued entering from Nine in the Morning of the 2d of *February*, till the 4th, when the Place was entirely evacuated, after nailing up 13 Pieces of Brass Cannon of eight and twelve Pounders, and throwing the Swivels taken out of the *Hazard* Sloop into the *Tay*; then they subdivided, Lord *Lewis Gordon* with his Corps, seven Pieces of Cannon, and fourteen Chests of Arms, took the Rout of *Dunkeld*, and crossed to the North thro' *Braemar*; Majors *Nairn* and *Kennedy* went by *Dundee*, 300 of the *French* Piquets, the Life-Guards, Lord *Ogilvie's*, *Pitsligo's*, *Elcho's*, and Sir *James Kinloch's* Battalions, with Lord *George Murray*, proceeded through *Cowpar* of *Angus* to *Montrose*, where they put two Pieces of Cannon on Board of a small Boat, which coasted along and kept Pace with themselves to *Aberdeen*; whence they marched, some by the Way of *Bamff*, and some by *Strathbogie*, with Lord *George*, and then advanced to *Inverness* to meet the Chevalier, who, with *Tullebardin*, the *French* Ambassador, and 500 Men, mostly of the *Atchole* Battalions, had gone to *Blair*, where after halting five Days, they set out on hearing that the Earl of *Crauford* was at *Dunkeld* with the *Hessians*, *Ligonier's*, and *Hamilton's* Dragoons: When at *Ruthven* the Garrison there consisting only

of 12 Men, surrendered the Fort and came out upon Parole.

While here, one *Riddell* was descried by the Pretender, who ordered him to be seized and narrowly searched, and a Letter being found in the Head of one of his Gloves, from General *Guest* to Lord *Loudon*, he was executed next Day as a Spy. From *Ruthven* he marched thro' *Strath Spey*, whose Inhabitants the *Grants*, then in Arms for the Government, lay secure within the Walls of the Castle of their Name, then proceeded to *Moy* the Residence of the Laird of *McIntosh*, where Lord *Loudon* endeavoured to surprize him.

For his Lordship had in the most secret Manner, marched with his Corps at six that Night which being very dark, they were about nine within three Miles of the Enemy; two of them going before the Main Body, were shot at by a Smith who lived nigh the Place, and a Piper being one of them was kill'd.

The Sound of the Shot equally intimidated both Parties; the Royalists thinking they were surrounded quickly retired; the Pretender then sitting at a Fire with his Garters loose and Shoes untied, took the Alarm, fled off in the Dishabile, run three Miles, and roam'd thro' the Woods till the Morning, when being found by his Corps, he advanced to Lord *Loudon*, who by this Time had reached

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reached *Inverness*, where he halted till the Enemy who had waited on a *Muir* some Hours for him was at the East End of the Town: he advanced to the Ferry of *Kessock*, where Boats were prepared; and tho' some Balls from two Pieces of Cannon, which the Enemy had planted at the Mouth of the *Ness*, had fallen in the Water between the Skiffs as they were passing, yet all got safe to the other Side; where many deserted, and next Day one Capt. *McKenzie* went over with his Corps to the Enemy; who were now in Possession of the Town, and preparing to besiege the Castle then provided for a Defence.

At Night they planted Cannon upon the Trenches and fired from them, then sent a Drum to Major *George Grant* the Governour demanding the Fort; it was soon agreed that all Firing should cease, during which Time, the Enemy broke Ground to the East about 21 Yards nearer than before: of which a Friend having Intelligence, a Letter was secretly conveyed to *J. Thompson*, the Gunner, who directed the Cannon to be fired so as to bear upon the Trench, whence the Rebels were driven with Precipitation leaving their Wounded behind; they betook themselves to an old Kiln where they planted a large Cannon, fired from it and broke some of the Slates. Next Day the Firing continued with

no Loss on the King's Side but of one Man killed; while on the other several were maimed, and a Woman shot near the left Breast; during this Firing Workmen were sent to undermine the Northern Bastion, but of this the Garrison were timely apprised; so that the feeble Efforts of the Enemy might have been baffled, had not the private Men discovered the utmost Pannick, on hearing that a Mine was to be sprung; which obliged the Governour to yield to the Stream, and on the third Day surrender the Place, on Condition of having his own Liberty and retaining his Effects, while the Garrison was closely confined with very little Conveniencies: Some Days after they were sent to *Forress*, but when at *Nairn* all the Officers escap'd thro' the back Window of an Inn, except the Master of *Ross*: On this the private Men were conducted back, and more rigorously used, while 100 *Grants* that made a Quota of the Garrison partly listed with the Enemy, and others through the Interest of *Roy Steuart* were peaceably released.

All being over, the Pretender entered the Town, where he had the Pleasure of seeing the principal Garrison of the North in his Hands; in it were found 12 Pieces of Cannon, 16 Barrells of Powder and Ball, besides other Necessaries. After this, the Bastions were blown up; at one of which, the *French* Captain

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Captain, who directed the Burning of the Church of *St Ninian*, with a *Spaniel* Dog made too near an Approach: the Engineer looking into the Train from a Corner, while the Animal stood upon a large Stone directly above it: the Powder, like the Bolt generated in the Midst of the Cloud, took Fire, blaz'd, burnt, burst and overturned in a Moment, and blew *Monsieur* up in the Air! he fell in the Water about two Yards from Shore: the Circelings described by his Body were strange, and yet, his Hat and Wig fell by his Side; four Guineas and a Watch were found in his Pocket, but such as had seen him that Day declared he had six more: The Creature had a better Fate, for he was flung by the Shock to the other Side of the River, which is about 200 Yards broad, fell into a very sorry Yard that had been newly digged, and received but little Damage, being preserved from Suffocation by the Stone on which she stood. Thus a Fort was demolished on which the Government had expended 50000*l.* but thirteen Years before.

The Enemy having got this Place, and blown it up, did every other Thing, except proclaiming their Leader, for promoting their Cause. One of *Tullebardin's Aid de Camps* manned some Boats, and seized a Vessel, on Board of which were the valuable Effects of the Town's People, and a great

quantity of Halfpence, which was of good Use among the Troops; while *Barisdale* was detached with 2000 Men by the Way of *Beulie* in pursuit of Lord *Lowdon*; and had almost surprized him at *Inverbreakie*, where he encamped; for there were not Boats to pass over, little Provision to subsist on, and still less Courage in the Men; to remedy which, the President and he, judged it proper to march down to *Cromarty*, hoping, that there they might either find Boats to transport them, or else be sheltered by some of the King's Ships of War; but on their Arrival they found neither: And now they had the dismal Prospect of being cut in Pieces, by those who bore the most deliberate Revenge against the Leaders, and a Family Grudge at the private Men; and what rendered their Case still more deplorable, the Enemy were upon the Brow of the Hill, coming down upon them. In this Situation, fortunately for them, the *Vulture* Sloop of War entered between the *Soutors* * of the Place; she kept upon the *Ross* Side, notwithstanding the utmost Efforts of the Royalists to shew that they were Friends, by

* A Term contracted for the Greek Word *αὐτομαχοὶ* Savers, they are two high Promontories facing each other at the Entrance of the Bay, and when a Ship is within them, no Storms or Tempests can annoy her.

displaying Colours, raising Huzzas, and tossing up their Bonnets in the Air. Being come to Anchor, Mr. *Murray* the Purser, was sent with the Yawl to get Intelligence, as he was well acquainted with the Coast; When within Musket Shot, he hawled them with a Speaking Trumpet as the Boatmen lay upon their Oars; so understanding who they were, and the Danger they were in, he returned and informed the Captain of the Case; the Anchor was weighed in five Minutes, and the Sloop put under Sail to a Place opposite to the Descent on which *Barrisdale* was with his Corps; having got as near the Shore as possible, three Cannon were fired at them, by which two Horses were killed and several Men wounded; so that they thought fit to retire, being incapable either to attack *Loudon*, or lodge in the Town while the *Vulture* was there. Being delivered from one of the most impending Dangers that ever threatened any People, the Royalists were all transported that Night to the *Ross* Side, on Board the Sloops Boats, and two of the stav'd Boats which the Carpenters had mended.

But while they were safely marching into *Sutherland*, a false Rumour arose from the Noise of the Firing, and the Country People taking the Alarm, gave out that *Loudon's* Corps was defeated, and the Laird

of *McIntosh* then out of Policy in an opposite Interest to his Clan had been killed; the News was gladly received, the Pretender gave a Ball, and danced with the Lady to comfort her for the Loss of her Husband. He then sent a Party to Fort *Augustus*, where a Serjeant and twelve Men kept them off from the old Town till Cannon was planted against it, and the new Fortifications. The Garrison, consisting of three Companies of *Guise's* Regiment, fired upon them, killed two, and perhaps would have kept them longer in Play, had not a Ball fallen into the Powder Magazine, which obliged Major *Wentworth* to surrender the Fort; it was directly turned into a Place of Confinement to the Prisoners whom they could not transport, and so continued till the Day before the Battle of *Culloden*, when it was blown up.

In the mean Time the Troops who had taken their Rout by the Coast were daily arriving: On the 16th, thirty of their Horse crossed the *Spey*, and advanced to *Elgin*, where they demanded Billets for 5000 Men, and Stables for 500 Horses; which continued to enter the Town, some that Night, others next Day, where 100 Chests of Arms, Powder and Ball, escorted by a Party of *Roy Steuart's* Regiment came in, and some Hours after Lord *Elcho* arrived with his Corps. These Chests had been landed at *Stonehive*,
from

from two *Spanish* Privateers which brought Money and Ammunition; one of whom was afterwards taken and burnt, but the other returned safe into *Dunkirk*.

On *Tuesday* the 18th, their Main Body, consisting of the *McIntoshes*, with some of their Followers, all the *French* Piquets and Brigades, Lord *John Drummond's*, and Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Regiments, and the Remainder of *Roy's* came up; here as in most Towns on the Road they surrounded the Cross, proclaimed the Chevalier, read his Manifestoes, and ended the Scene with drinking Healths, beating of Drums, throwing Glasses over their Heads, and the loudest Acclamations: Nor must it be forgot, that in *Elgin* the Attendance of the Magistrates, who were confined, was dispensed with thro' the Mediation of Friends. Of the Country People they demanded Meal for their Cess, and levy Money; and of some Gentlemen they required 1000 Stone of Hay, 10 Loads of Straw, and 20 Bolls of Oats; the Cess Books, Customs, and Excise were exacted; those liable were not only commanded to pay in their Arrears, but 5 *l.* was laid on every 8 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* of valued Rent, on pain of military Execution, which was sometimes put in Force.

On the 19th they marched to *Forres* and *Nairn*, leaving at *Elgin* Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Corps, some *Fargbuarsons*, and Horse under

Lord *Pitsligo*, and arrived at *Inverness* the very Day the Fort surrendered; and now having settled in their Camp, they continued to send Detachments through the Northern Counties, till the 13th of *April*, three Days before the Duke of *Cumberland* came up with them.

For his Royal Highness, having entred *Stirling* on the 2d of *February*, amidst the repeated Acclamations of the Multitude, which were answered by three Rounds from the Cannon of the Castle, marched upon the 4th with the Army along the Bridge, whose Arch that had been blown up by General *Blakeney* for retarding the Progress of the Enemy, was repaired with the Timber which these had procured. By the Way of *Sheriffmuir* they came to *Crief*, whence Parties were sent to seize the Dutchess Dowager of *Perth*, and Viscountess of *Strathballan*, who were escorted to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, where upon the 11th they were closely confined: *Perth's* Horses, which were of the finest Breed in the World, were secured, and prov'd of good Service: Next Day they proceeded to *Perth*, where Magazines of Provisions since the Enemy's Retreat had been laid in: Detachments were sent out to secure the Passes; 500 Foot of different Regiments, and 120 *Campbell's* were dispatched with Lieut. Col. Sir *Andrew Agnew*

to *Dunkeld*; and 500 to *Castle Menzies* with Lieut. Col. *Leightoun*: These Parties were replaced by other Forces as they arrived; for *St George's* Dragoons who came to *Edinburgh* on the 5th, and *Kingston's* Horse upon the 17th, directly proceeded to the Camp; they were met upon the Road by some Prisoners taken from the Enemy, and by some Officers and Soldiers that had been relieved.

The Time was now come when the *Hessians* were to be employed, 5000 of whom repaired to *Williamstadt*, where on the 5th, they embarked on Board 36 Transports, and under Convoy of 4 Men of War arrived in *Leith* Road, about 5 at Night of the 8th, when the Ships in the Harbour and Road, as also the Castle, saluted them with their Guns.

That Night Prince *Frederic* of *Hesse*, the Duke of *Wolfembottle's* Son, the Earl of *Craufurd*, and several general Officers landed, and next Day entred the Palace of *Holyrood-house*, where they were met by Lord *Mark Ker*, but the private Men were kept on Board, until the Return of a Courier from his Royal Highness; on the 10th they began to disembark, were all landed before the 13th, and cantoned in the City and Neighbourhood, where they observed so strict a Discipline, that except two, who bought a Calf which they skinned, and did not pay

for it, no Outrage was committed; they were all very fine Troops, armed as the National *British* Forces, only their Muskets and Swords were longer. Their *Hussars*, about 500, looked extreamly well, wore Scymitars of a great Length, which hung by a Cord, tied round their Bodies; their Horses were long tail'd, of a strong Make, and generally black, of a much less Size than those of the *British* Army, but more durable and fit for Use. They were mostly *Swedish*, or of that Breed, which is reckoned the most serviceable in the Northern Nations.

On the 18th, the Duke set out for *Edinburgh*, attended only by Lord *Cathcart*, and a few Servants; was at *Kinghorn* about One in the Afternoon, crossed the *Forth* in a Man of War's Longboat, and landed at *Leith* about Three, where he was met on the Pier by the Prince of *Hesse*, and the General Officers, amidst the repeated Acclamations of the People. From thence they went in a Coach to the Abbey, where the two Princes dined in Publick, and then concerted the Operations of the Army. Next Morning about Nine he returned, and as at his Entrance, so on his going out of the Palace, he was saluted by a compleat Round from the great Guns of the Castle; and as he passed the Men of War, they pay'd him their Compliments. Having
come

come to the Camp, and settled Detachments in several Posts, on the 20th he put the Troops in Motion in four Divisions, two of which took the Road of *Cowpar* of *Angus*, whether two Battalions and 250 Horse had marched six Days before; the other, that of *Dundee*, whether the like Number had gone; the Artillery followed, crossed the *Tay* at *Perth*, and through *Forfar* and *Brechin* arrived at *Montrose*, on the 22d, along with the Army, which was kindly entertained by the Inhabitants. Here a Court-Martial sat for the Trial of some Officers, among whom Col. *Cunningham*, for abandoning the Train at *Falkirk*, for which he was broke, as was another, for rifling the House of Mr. *Oliphant* of *Gask*. On the 24th, a Proclamation was emitted, requiring such as had returned with their Arms, or such "as had any of the
 " Rebel Effects, to bring them in; those
 " who had been assisting to them, and lurking
 " about the Country, to give in their
 " Names and Places of Abode to the Magistrate, or next Minister of the Church of
 " *Scotland*, and to submit to the King's Mercy;" with which a few only complied.

For the Pretender's Soldiers having been made to believe, that by their Retreat from *Derby*, they had gained the Battle of *Falkirk*, thought that by withdrawing from *Stirling*, they would win the next that
 should

should be fought; they kept together, while the Officers were afraid to submit to the Royal Mercy. The Flame of Rebellion now raging, was not softly to be blown out, and the dreadful Combustion was too much fermented, instantly to cease. The Fire at the Beginning of the Troubles was indeed hidden, but in such Manner, that the first Spark was enough to make it general among the disaffected *Highlanders*. As the *Chevalier* advanced, the confused and menacing Uproar, the loud and bitter Complaints of his Followers, for the real Advantages and Glories of the *British* Nation, denounced a fatal Catastrophe; no Regard was paid to Dignity, and Endeavours were vain to oppose that Fury, which was too much animated to give Ear to Remonstrance. *France* and *Rome* had blown the Coals, and still fomented the Flame. In the Height of their Rage, they had broke through the Laws, and spread themselves through the Country, crying out, "the *Hanoverian* Race must be "exterminated;" at *Preston* and *Falkirk*, Hundreds were sacrificed to that Vengeance, which continued to double its Violence till *WILLIAM* appear'd! Then indeed the Country began to breath, after half a Year of most terrible Commotion; but in general the Scene of Things was not changed, the Turmoil having only removed to some other Parts,

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Parts, and extended itself to the Northern Counties.

On the 26th, his Royal Highness set out for *Aberdeen*, which, by the Coast Way, he entered on the 28th, amidst the Acclamations of those who lined the Streets, and were unable to resist his Charms. The Masters of the University, stood before the Gate of the Marshal College to welcome him, and next Day, with the Clergy, waited on him; several Persons of Distinction came to him, among whom the Laird of *Grant*, with about 100 of his Name.

That Chieftain had for some Time past daily rendezvoused his Clan at *Bellantrom*, where Captain *McIntosh* of *Corryburgh* came to him with a Letter from the Pretender's "own Hand, requiring the Arms of his "Clan, and four Hostages for a Neutrality." On presenting the Epistle, Mr. *Grant*, without touching it, demanded the Author, to which it was answered, "from "his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales*." On this he turned round his Horse's Head, rode to *Castle-Grant*, whence next Morning, with a few Attendants, his Lady, the Earl of *Findlater* and Lord *Braco*, he set out for *Aberdeen*, where they were all graciously received by the Duke, who in a few Days after sent Mr. *Grant* with an Order to meet him at *Speymouth* with 600 of his Clan; but

to *his* Disappointment, these had embraced the Terms the Pretender had proposed; and so rendered more Service to him by supplying his Camp with fresh Provisions from the *Spey*, than if they had actually joined; and that their Chieftain and they might not appear in opposite Interests, *Roy Stuart* contrived to surprize him, first at *Clett*, then at *Castle-Forbes*; whence *Roy* was, by some of *Kingston's* Horse, a few *Campbels*, and a Party of *Cobham's* Dragoons, obliged to retire to *Strathbogie*, where was such a considerable Body, that the King's Party did not think fit to pursue: These Occurrences being told his Royal Highness, he sent Col. *Conway*, his Aid de Camp, to General *Bland*, then at *Ianerurie*, with Orders to proceed to *Strathbogie*, and attack the Enemy.

On the 14th, the General set out with the Regiments of *Gbolmondley*, *Barrel*, the *Scots Royal* and of *Price*, *Cobham's* Dragoons, *Kingston's* Horse and some *Campbels*; and was within half a Mile of the Place before his Party was discerned; the Enemy soon fled off, while some Hussars drew up on the Green, making a Shew of intending to stand a Battle; but this was only a Feint to favour the Retreat of their own Foot; they did the same at a Mile's Distance, never breaking their Ranks, till *Kingston's* Horse were observed to ford the *Devron* below them,

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them, and the *Campbells* to advance by the Bridge and the *Miln* behind them, they took to flight, and were pursued for two Miles by the Van, who returned as the Night was approaching, and the Weather hazy and wet; only the Marquis of *Granby*, Col. *Conway*, and some Volunteers, advanced a little further, fired a few Pistols at them, and then rode back. Some few Days after, a Captain of Highlanders, and thirty of *Kingston's* Horse, were sent to *Keith* with a discretionary Power; they marched to the Hill above *Fochaber's*, and returned back to their Post, where they were surprized by a Detachment of *Roy Stuart's* Regiment, and a few *French* Piquets belonging to Major *Glascoe*, who about Ten at Night, set out and arrived at *Keith* by One in the Morning. *Glascoe* came up to the Centry, who asked who's there? a Friend of the Duke of *Cumberland's*, replied he? with these Words the Man was seized, disarmed, and threatned with immediate Death, if he cried. This was the Fate of the other three, one of whom escaping, alarmed the rest, who were now in the utmost Confusion, and were all seized in their Beds, except one of the *Campbells* who escaped, and twelve who retired into the Churchyard, whence they were driven to the Church, out of which they fired with Success, till overpowered by Numbers,

bers, who discharged some Shot through the Windows upon them, killed seven, and took five Prisoners. *Kingston's* Horsemen were all taken except Five, a Cornet and two Horses, who made their Escape through the *French* Centinels, one of whom they killed, and wounded several. The Loss of the Enemy was not certainly known, as they threw the dead Carcasses upon Horses, and buried them in their Return.

The Earl of *Albemarle*, and General *Bland*, were with 4000 at *Strathbogie*, where Lord *Braco* took Care to have them supplied with every Thing necessary. General *Blakeney* had 1000 at *Innerurie*, Brigadier *Mordaunt* had two Battalions at *Old Meldrum*, while the Remainder continued at *Aberdeen*, where they were joined by Brigadier *Bligh's* Regiment that had landed from *Leith*, on the 25th.

While the Army staid at *Aberdeen*, till the Waters of the *Spey*, then much swollen with the Rain, had abated, the Pretender had Time to strengthen himself, and being at perfect Ease, surrounded by his Followers, had an Opportunity of discovering the real Temper of his Mind. He talked of the King, the Duke of *Argyle*, the Earl of *Stair*, and of the Earl of *Craufurd*, all of whom he applauded for their personal Bravery; but always called His Majesty by the Name of
the

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the Usurper, and his Royal Highness by the Title of the Usurper's Son, and other scurrilous Indignities; whereas, the Duke scarcely mentioning his Name in Particular, daily rose at Four, reviewed his Troops, appeared at publick Entertainments, walked the Streets with his Officers, and conversed with the Students and Country People about Intelligence; he also sent out Parties to scour the Country, one of which consisting of 200 Foot and 80 Horse, marched up the *Don*, in Quest of the Rebel Magazines, which they not only discovered, but likewise the Booty that was hid in the Snow, and concealed upon the Tops and Sides of the Mountains. During this Search only actual Rebels were molested, for when a Party went to a Rebel-Gentleman's House, and robbed it, the Officer was broke, as was another for taking a Reward of six Guineas, from a Merchant, to preserve him from being spoiled.

Nor did he any Thing contrary to Expectation, except with Regard to the Clergy, none of whose Churches he ever entered, which was partly owing to one Mr. *Bisset*, Minister of *Aberdeen*, who being a strange Medley, sent the following Answer to the Duke, when he sent him his Compliments, desiring that he would change Diets with one whom his Highness wanted to hear,

hear, " Though I neither preach before
 " Kings, or before Kings Sons, yet I will
 " yield my Pulpit to none but God Al-
 " mighty "

All this Time, from *February* the 23d,
 the *Hessians* successively defiled till *March*
 the 5th, that their Prince set out with a
 grand Retinue, accompanied by the Prince
 of *Hessenberg*, and by the Earl of *Crausford*,
 a Nobleman thoroughly acquainted with all
 the Arts of War.

That great Officer was descended of a no-
 ble Family, * which, above 300 Years ago,
 had the dignify'd Title of Duke of *Mon-
 trose*; a Family that espoused the Reforma-
 tion, was singularly active in promoting the
 Revolution, and supporting the same; while
 young, he was bred with his Mother's Sis-
 ter, the late Dutchess of *Argyle* in *Kyniyre*
 in *Scotland*. When advanced beyond the
 ticklish Sphere of Youth, he studied the
 Elements of Fortification and Gunnery, un-
 der the Eye of *Archibald* Duke of *Argyle*.
 Though of a low Stature, he was so a-
 gile, as to jump off the Ground over

* *James* Earl of *Crausford*, *Anno* 1392, being un-
 able to make Peace between the *Catti* and *Camerons*,
 propos'd that three Hundred shou'd fight of a Side,
 before the King and Court, which being complied
 with, both Sides were almost cut off.

three Horses, and to mount upon the fourth. Music, Dancing and Fencing, he understood extremely well, and his Courage equaling his Activity, and his Generosity exceeding both, he was caressed in the *Russian*, *Sardinian* and *Austrian* Armies, in the last of which, he received a Wound in the Groin, that rendered him lame, and opening frequently, put him to exquisite Torture. He was in all the Battles in *Flanders*, during the late War, behaved with an uncommon Valour, and at each of 'em, was the Instrument of saving Numbers by his Conduct. After the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle*, he caus'd to be cast about twenty thousand small Statues of Men and Horse, whom he would draw up against each other, contrive new Dispositions that surprized such as saw them, and had he lived, its thought he would have favoured the World with a Treatise on the Art of War.

By the Way of *Stirling*, where the same Honours were paid as to the Duke, they marched to *Perth*, where they encamped, and sent out Detachments to scour the Country. About twenty *Hussars* rode to *Dunkeld*, from which they were kept off by the Fire of the Enemy, till next Morning, when the Prince and Earl brought up the rest, and diverted them, while a Body of Horse crossed the *Fay*, to the West of the Town, and pro-

proceeded at an hard Trot, Sabre in Hand, amidst some random Shot from the flying Enemy, that killed one Man, and wounded three.

From *Dunkeld*, his Lordship marched at the Head of the Dragoons, to dispossess the Rebels of *Blair*, and their other Posts; but when nigh the Pass of *Killicranky*, seeing the advantageous Situation of Lord *George Murray*, who was over-against it with 2000 Men, he withdrew, leaving Lord *Murray* to act against *Blair*, a Place, which abstracting from the Thickness of its Wall, of three Yards Breadth, has not the most remote Resemblance to any Sort of Fortification.

Having broke the Windows, and torn the Roof, with two small Pieces of 6 Pounders, *Murray* detached *Robertson* of *Blansfity*, to seize a Party of the *Campbells*, who were then at his House; he suddenly came upon the Centry, seized him, and in a Moment went up Stairs, took the Officers Prisoners, and the private Men followed of Course. *Stuart* of *Kainachan*, much in the same Manner, surprized 100 at his House, where two of the King's, and one of his own Party were killed. The Report of the Firing alarmed the Whole. They got up, and lay on their Arms till next Morning, when Lord *George* appeared at a Distance. At Night they moved off, and sent a Lieutenant

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nant to *Craufurd*, to inform him of the Disaster, and the Disadvantage arising from being quartered in so scattered a Manner. His Words were persuasive, the *Hessians* from *Pertb* were sent for, and again he set out for *Blair*, with these and with the Dragoons.

From their leaving *Dunkeld*, they were constantly alarmed with firing from behind Bushes and Thickets, which obliged them to move off from the Road that lies close by the *Tay*; when at the Head of the Path that leads to *Killicranky*, the *Hussars* entered it with the Cannon in Front, while the Foot fetched a Compass around it. They were but got to the Pass, when the Enemy, ready to fire upon them, observing the Foot just upon the Point of crossing the *Tay*, and attacking them in Flank, while engaged in Front with the *Hussars* and the Cannon, they thought fit to retire. Thus a Pass was made good, with only the Loss of two Men wounded by a Strippling, who fired three Times from a Precipice, but was afterwards wounded and made Prisoner, while the Rebels retreated to *Inverness*, leaving *Blair Castle*, whose Garrison had no more Ammunition but what was in their Guns.

The Success of the *Camerons*, *McDonalds* and *French* Piquets before *Fort William*, was no better, for Capt. *Caroline Scott*, by burning the Town and the Huts, that might afford

ford them Shelter, so effectually obstructed their Designs, that after a ridiculous Siege of twelve Days, they moved off with the Loss of three killed, seven wounded, among whom was *Grant* their chief Engineer, leaving the Cannon taken at *Preston-Pans*, some Cohorns and Mortars behind.

About this Time, two Soldiers, who like some others, had been decoyed into their Service, were, by a Court Martial, condemned to be hanged for Desertion. *Mc Lauchlan*, a Priest, then clad like a Soldier, with *M. Hay*, a Nonjurant Clergyman, attended them to the Gibbet; they gave little heed to either, but read their Bibles as they went along. When at the fatal Tree, one of them sung a Psalm which he himself raised, and gave out the Line, so as to charm the Audience. This being over, the Guard begun to murmur, and intreated he should haste; but before he mounted the Ladder, *McLauchlan* desired he would leave his Advice to all who heard him, to be
“ true to the Prince, and not to keep by
“ the Service of the Usurper. As a dying
“ Man, *replied he*, I exhort all to be true
“ to their Trust;” intimating his Grief for having listd with the Chevalier! With these Words, he was ordered to mount up.
“ Yes, *says he*, I will;” and as he was climbing, he said, “ every Step of this
“ Ladder

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“ Ladder leads me a Step nearer Heaven ;” the other was not so lively or divine, but like his Comrade, testified his Hatred of his last Master, who that Day went out to *Braban*, to pay a Visit to the Lady *Seaforth*, that he might not witness the Scene.

But while some suffered Death, the other Prisoners were stripp’d of their Cloaths, till by the Remonstrance of *Kilmarnock*, and the *French* Ambassador, the same were returned ; others attribute the Return of their Cloaths to the Soldiers, entirely to the Marquis of *Tullebardin* ; so hard it is to get true Information !

Their next Step was to surprize the *Sutherland* Militia, by Means of Boats which they had collected along the Coast. On the 19th of *March*, they set out, and next Morning, by the Help of a Mist, landed below *Dornoch*. Some of the Militia went out to fight them, but soon run off in Confusion, to the little Ferry, where such as crossed over, dispersed, while their Comrades, who could not get Boats, were taken Prisoners, and two Ships, which the *Vulture* had saved, were seiz’d.

In the mean Time, *Dornoch* was rumaged for Plunder, and Mr. *Kirk* the Minister, “ that *Nathaniel* indeed, in whom there is “ no Guile,” was, for lodging the Earl of *Loudon*, severely chastized, while the Commanders retreated by different Roads into

Strathnavern, where, on the 24th, an Engagement of five Hours happened off *Tong Bay*, between the *Prince Charles Snow*, and the *Sheerness* Man of War; the former lost 36 Hands and had several wounded; that Night she run a Shore on the Shallows, where her Men and Money were landed, but were all taken next Day by a Party of Lord *Reay*'s Vassals, and 80 of Lord *Loudon*'s Regiment; 20 Officers and 120 Soldiers surrendered with 12,500 Guineas; the Prisoners were conducted on Board the *Sheerness*, whose Captain took Possession of the Prize, in which were found 14 Chests of Pistols and Sabres, 13 Barrels of Powder, besides Ammunition and military Stores; and next Day sailed for *Stromness* in *Orkney*, where 12 Ships were released, and a Privateer of 14 Guns was secured, while *Reay* was posting to *Aberdeen*, where he arrived on the 6th of *April*, and with Lord *Lyon* King at Arms, and others who had been taken up by the *Vulture* Sloop as roaming through the Seas, informed the Duke of the State of Affairs in the North; the Prisoners also acquainted him with the Preparations at *Dunkirk*, whence some Ships had landed a few Battalions, with 150 of *Fitz James*'s Horse a few Days before, the rest of that Corps having been taken in the *Charite* and *Bourbon* Privateers on the 24th of *February* by Commodore *Knowles*.

These

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These Circumstances, with an Assurance that the *Spey* would be fordable by the Time he could reach it, determined the Duke to set out on the 8th; by the Way of *Bamff*, he arrived at *Cullen* on the 11th, where he was joined by the Earl of *Albemarle's* Battalions. Here a Party of *Highland* Hussars endeavoured to surprize the Outguard, but these being too alert, they kept back. Next Day his Highness and General *Husk* marched to *Spey* with 15 Companies of Grenadiers, the *Highlanders* and two Pieces of Cannon. A Party of the Enemy then at *Fochabers*, seeing *Kingston's* Horse, crossed the Water, and with their Friends on the other Side fled toward *Elgin*. Only Captain *Hunter* of *Burnside* waited with a few, till two Cannon were planted, and till *Kingston's* Horse were entering the River, into which he fired one of his Pistols, and with the other shot his Horse through the Neck, then jumped off his Back, got behind his Comrade, and galloped off.

The whole Army being come to the *Spey*, his Royal Highness was shewn the very Ford which King *Malcolm Canmore*, Anno 1057, and after him King *Alexander* surnamed the *Fierce*, Anno 1107, crossed to engage the Ancestors of those whom the Forces now pursued.

He was the first to follow the Guide at the Head of the Horse, while the Grenadiers and *Highlanders* passed a little higher, and the Foot with their Clothes contracted above their Breasts, chearfully waded over, as they arrived, without any Loss except of one Man and four Women; thus was one of the strongest Passes in *Scotland* given up, a Pass where 2000 might destroy 20,000 Men, and which the Enemy would not have quitted, had they not been affraid of having the Banks of the *Spey* lined with Cannon, that might be so easily landed from the Transports, and had not Lord *George Murray* told the Chevalier, when proposing to fix a Battery of 25 Pieces of Cannon upon its Banks, "Let the Elector's Troops pass over, the more that pass the fewer shall return." Having all past each Soldier had a Quatern of Rum and a Biscuit given him; they were all cantoned that Night on the Banks of the *Spey*, and next Day marched for *Elgin*, and by 12 o'clock arrived at it; thence passed to the other Side of the *Lossie*, where they halted and dined. Having come that Night to *Alves*, they next Day marched thro' *Forrefts*, waded the *Findhorn*, then Knee Deep, and when at *Nairn*, a handsome Burgh Royal, they crossed the broad Rivulet of that Name.

Some Officers were in the Town, and *Perth* at the End of the Bridge on a fine Courser,

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Courser, that carried him off just as *Kingston's* Horse were within 200 Yards of him. At *Nairn* the Army halted next Day, when some Spies were brought in, one of whom was hanged up by *Halley's* Order, but in five Minutes the Duke on hearing his Innocence ordered him to be cut down; being recovered to his Senses, he appeared wholly ignorant of the last Scene he had gone through.

That very Day a Party of Rebels was worsted at *Golspie*; and tho' the People of *Sutherland* have differed more in their Accounts of that Affair, than the Relation of the former Battles published by the Government has from that of the Rebels, yet I must venture upon a Description of it.

The Earl of *Cromarty* being at *Dunrobin*, on his Return from *Caithness*, where he had proclaimed the Pretender, raised the Cess, and in vain solicited the Gentlemen of the County to join, and inclining to come up to the Chevalier, a Party of the *Sutherland* Militia had convened to intercept him. Ensign *John McKay* having got a Signal according to Agreement, of the March of *Cromarty's* Corps, and that his Lordship had staid behind, he got 26 Men together, who just when *Cromarty* set out by the common Road, run toward *Golspie* Tower, and descending to the Church of the Place, fired upon his Lordship and his Son, some Officers and

Servants; at the Instant they were entring the Brook, the Horses startled, run back to *Dunrobin* where their Riders dismounted and shut themselves up; the Firing amazed the Rebel Corps, who, on turning about, saw a Body of Men which tho' only 120, yet by marching wide were made to appear 7 or 800; the Enemy paused, not having Officers to command them, and taking the People of *Culmailie*, *Sallach*, and other Villages for another Army, a Consternation ensued! the brave Mr. *Sutherland* of *Shiberscrops*, my old Friend, with 20 Men, harrassed their Rear, and drove them into the little Ferry, where several were drowned, about 50 killed, and 170 taken Prisoners, only a few escaping in two Boats to the other Side, or running up by the Sands of *Torbolt*: In the mean Time *McKay* pursued *Cromarty* to *Dunrobin*, but he was told that no Mortal was to have Access, and that every Person was to be fired at if he ventured to approach: What says *McKay*, "Will they fire upon One Man?" "Yes" "they will?" on which he repeated the Phrase, fire upon one Man! so oft, that at last he was admitted to his Lordship, whom he plainly told, that if he did not surrender the House, the Numbers without would blow it up at all Hazards; then *Cromarty* desired half an Hour to think on it; which granted, the Ensign went down Stairs and told the Guard,

"That

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“ That it was needless to keep their Arms
“ any longer as their Officers had surren-
“ dered,” On which these were delivered
to him; then getting the Key of the Gate,
he called in the Militia, went up Stairs and
told *Cromarty*, “ There is now no Time to
“ delay,” and so took him Prisoner with his
Son, one Lieutenant Col. *Kendall* in the *Spa-
nish* Service, with nine other Officers; while
Barisdale, whose Ravages were all laid to the
Charge of the blustering *Cromarty*, continued
his March to join the Pretender now prepar-
ing for the grand Decision.

For on the 14th he drew up his Army on
the Street of *Inverness*, and walked along the
Lines; never were Men more chearful: “ We
“ have seen *Cumberland* before, we will give
“ him another *Fontenoy*,” was the Phrase of
the Day; that Night they marched out, and
incamped in the Parks of *Culloden* and *Castle-
hill*, while the Chevalier and his Followers put
up in the Mansion Houses; and next Morn-
ing by six marched to the Field of Battle,
where they planted their Batteries, and stood
in a Posture to engage, till about nine at
Night, when it was agreed to proceed and
attack the Troops, then “ drowned in Sleep,
the Effect of that Day’s Rejoicing.” About
ten they set out with two Pieces of Cannon
under Cover of a Smoak from some wet
Straw, that by a gentle Southern Breeze co-

vered their Designs; through *Dacus*, and cross some Parks, they arrived at the Lake of the *Clanns* by one in the Morning, within three Miles of the Royalists; here they separated, one Party going Eastward to *Bradley* nigh the *Nairn*, and another to the North; this last fetched a Compass round the Morass of *Belvoir*, and never halted till within a Mile of *Nairn*. It was now two in the Morning when the Centries were heard crying, "Is all well? Yes, all is well." At this Time an Horse began to neigh; they endeavoured to pacify him, but in vain; on which they stopt short that the Centries might take no Alarm: the Chevalier now turning impatient, called for Lord *George Murray*, who at that very Instant, from the Consideration of the Neighing of the Horse, the Circumstance of the Ground being disadvantageous, and that some Troops had mistaken their Way, ordered the Lines to march back, making the Front Line the Rear; *Murray's* Orders being told the Chevalier, he said, "What Lord *George*, did not I command
 " to engage! By G—d I'm betray'd!" and a little after, "G—d d——n it are my Or-
 " ders still disobey'd? fight when you will,
 " Gentlemen, the Day is not mine, we had
 " not a General to deal with, but I know
 " this Man;" then they proceeded to the former Ground, which they reached by eight
 in

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in the Morning, while the King's Troops now inform'd of what pass'd were in full March to attack them.

For the Duke had the Night before called the Officers together, and desired they would encourage the private Men, as they were likely to meet the Enemy next Day; two Regiments were drawn up about his own Quarters, Centries were posted at proper Distances, Parties were sent out to patrole, and the Cannon placed so as to be of the best Use if they should be surprized.

About four the Drums beat to Arms, and the Troops set out in four Columns; the three Lines of Foot, each of five Battalions, were broken into three Divisions from the Right, the Artillery follow'd the first, and the Cavalry the third upon the Left: About 11 o'clock forty of *Kingston's* Horse, and the *Highlanders* led by the Quarter Master General, perceived the Enemy at two Miles Distance, making a Motion to the Left of the Army, which instantly wheel'd from the West to the South, and formed in order to receive them: Thus they continued some Minutes, when observing, that those whom they had espied retired to their main Body, they resum'd their former Posture, and marched on, while the Enemy were firing their Cannon to awaken such as lay sleeping.

in the Parks and among the Heath; and now the fatal Hour approach'd.

On the 16th of *April* 1746, between the Hours of one and two in the Afternoon, was fought the decisive Battle of *Culloden*, between two Warriors who were much of an Age, and by far the most enterprizing Youths of their Time, *William Augustus* Duke of *Cumberland*, and *Charles Edward* eldest Son of the Pretender, the one famous for his extraordinary Virtues, the other for his extraordinary Attempts, “ the one liberal
“ thro’ a Greatness of Soul, the other never
“ but for some private End.” The *British* Hero was by Nature a Soldier, and excelled in an unbounded Courage join’d with Compassion, the *Italian* Adventurer was well acquainted with the Arts of War, but these he never put in practice to the Hazard of his Person, and the Mercy which he shewed appeared rather the Effect of Policy while courting a Throne, than owing to his natural Disposition, as appear’d from the Tenor of his Actions; the former had the Title of Intrepid to a Proverb, which he supported in Fighting against a Pretender to his Father’s Crown, but the other tho’ engaged for himself, suffered the Love of Life to take Place of Intrepidity; the former was bred in the Court of *London*, breathed Liberty from his Birth, and seem’d to be born for its Defence.

The.

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The latter was trained up at *Rome* in all the Arts of Diffimulation, for which he seem'd naturally framed. *A Coffin or a Crown*, was what *Charles* declar'd for, and which his Followers gave out to be the Ensigns of his Standard before it was seen; the former he indeed might have had with Honour, but the latter never while *WILLIAM* was alive!

Both Armies were now in Order of Battle, the Royalists including the Militia about 8500 extending from Right to Left, were drawn up in two Lines about 50 Yards distant; the first was composed of the Regiments of *Pultney*, the *Royal Scots*, *Cholmondley*, *Pride*, *Royal North British* Fusileers, *Munro* and *Barrell*; the second of *Batterau's*, *Blakeney's*, the *Buffs*, *Fleming's*, *Semple's*, *Ligonier's*, *Bligh's* and *Wolf's*; there was a Corps of Reserve, whence *Pultney's* were ordered to the Right of the Royal, in order to cover the Enemy; a Morass on their Right defended them on that Side, and the Dragoons under *Hawley* and *Bland* supported their Left; the *Highlanders* were in the same Quarter, except 150 who were left with the Baggage behind the whole; the Duke was on the Right, Lord *Atbemarle* was in the Centre, and General *Husk* on the Left. The Rebels about 9000 stood formed thus, the first Line was composed of the *Atbole* Men, two Regiments of *McIntoshes*, the Battalions

of *Keppoch* and *Locheol*, the *Chisholms*, *Roy Steuari's* Regiment, the *McDonalds* of *Glen-gary* and *Clanranald*, the *Frazers*, *McLauchlans* and *McLeans*, under Lord *George Murray*, Lord *Nairn* and Lord *John Drummond*; their second Line was made up of the *Irish* Brigades and 70 of *Fitz James's* Horse, Lord *Lewis Gordon's* Regiment, with those of *Perth*, *Glenbucket*, *Kilmarnock*, Lord *John Drummond*, Lords *Ogilvy*, *Strathballan* and *Pitsligo*; the Pretender stood with a Body of Reserve, under Lords *Elcho* and *Balmerino*, behind the whole, but at a considerable Distance from it, as was the second Line from the first; their Cannon was placed in three Divisions, each consisting of three; that of the Duke in five, each consisting of two: Things being in this Situation, his Highness ordered them to advance, for said he, "I won't dine till my Work is done," then riding along the Lines and being come to the Centre, he addressed the Soldiers in the following Terms, "Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers, we are now in Sight of the Enemy whom we long wished to see; here presents the End of our Toils! Our Cause is the best, since we are to fight for our King, our Country, our Religion, Liberties and Laws; the Consequence of a Victory will be Peace, every Thing glorious to you as Soldiers, valuable to your Country."

try-

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“ trymen as *Britons* and Protestants, and
“ pleasing to the King as the Father of us
“ all ! The *British* Bravery is talked of thro’
“ the World, and I myself have been an
“ Eye Witness of yours ; and doubt not but
“ you will confirm the good Opinion which
“ my Royal Father, I, and your Country,
“ have formed of you : Be not affrighted at
“ the sudden Shock of the Enemy with
“ broad Sword and Target, they are but a
“ promiscuous Crowd and engaged in a bad
“ Cause ; you have more dangerous Wea-
“ pons ; use them as you have been directed,
“ parey with them a little, and in a Mo-
“ ment you shall have Assistance ; there is
“ no Place of Retreat, you see the Badness
“ of the Roads, Do or Die ought to be your
“ Resolution, since Mercy can’t be expected
“ from those who used the Troops so bar-
“ barously ; and now if any are afraid to
“ engage let them speak freely, and with
“ Pleasure they shall have my Discharge :”

This Harangue was answered by the Soldiers with the strongest Assurances of standing by him, and so the Army advanced returning the loud Huzzas of the Enemy.

As the Ground was a little marshy, some of the Baggage Horses were ordered forward to assist in drawing the Artillery : and tho’ a Wheel of one of the Carriages was broken, yet a Remedy was quickly applied : The
Army

Army was now within 500 Yards of the Enemy, when the Morass ended that covered their Right, but the Defect was soon supplied by *Kingston's* Horse, and a Party of *Cobham's* Dragoons. The Day was rainy, and the Wind began to arise from the North, to have which in their Backs was a Trial for half an Hour, when an Inclosure hard by the *Nairn*, rendered it impossible for the Enemy to obtain it.

Lord *Bury* was sent with a few to reconnoitre at an 100 Yards Distance what appear'd like a Battery, which began to play, but being ill served and ill pointed, the Balls flew over the Heads of the Soldiers, and only killed three; soon after the Artillery of the Royalists answered with great Execution, so that a mighty Confusion ensued, the second Line gave Way in a Moment, only some of the boldest run into the first, whole Left advanced three Times furiously down upon the right of the Army, brandishing their Swords and firing their Pistols within an 100 Yards of the *Royal* and of *Pultney's*, but still they were kept in Awe; the Wings being opposite kneel'd to receive each others Fire, which the Royalists cautiously deferred, tho' Lord *John Drummond* so much provoked them as to walk with a Fuzee in his Hand between the two Lines in this Posture!

Those

Those upon the Right did not hesitate so much, for with their Targets in their Left covering their Head and Breast, and their glittering Swords in their right Hands after giving their Fire, they run swiftly upon the Cannon making a frightful Huzza, and even crying, "Run ye Dogs?" they broke in upon *Barrel's* Regiment, and the left of *Munro's* who had given them their Fire, the second and third Rank as they were within 30 Yards, and the first received them with their Fire upon the Points of their Bayonets; and the two Cannon in that Division were so well served, that when within two Yards of them they received a full Discharge of Cartridge Shot that made a Lane through them, while such as crowded between the Regiments, received a full Discharge from the Centre of *Bligh's*; however, those who survived possess themselves of the two Cannon, and attacked the Regiments Sword in Hand: but to their Astonishment they met with an obstinate Resistance! Never was an Onset more terrible, and never was a Charge more nobly repell'd! the *Highlanders* fought like Furies, and *Barrel's* now *Rich's* Regiment behaved like so many Heroes! it was dreadful to see the Enemies Swords circling in the Air, as they were raised from the Strokes! and no less to see the Officers of the Army, some cutting with their Swords, others pushing

ing with their Spontoons, the Serjeants running their Halberts into the Throats of the Enemy, while the Soldiers mutually defended each other, and pierced the Heart of his Opponent, ramming their fixed Bayonets up to the Socket; but still more terrible to hear the dying Groans of either Party! Things continued in this Situation about two Minutes, when General *Husk* wheel'd *Wolf's* by Divisions to the right and left of *Barrel's*, who at that Instant were reinforced by *Bligh's* and *Semple's*: the whole gave their Fire in Front and Flank; which last, tho' it kill'd some of *Barrel's* Men, as they were engaged Hand to Hand, yet it decided the Fate of the Day, made a great Slaughter, and forced the Survivors to retire, which being observed by the Duke on the Right, he said, "They run, they run, rise up *Pultney's* and shoul-
"der?" he was obeyed; the Officers of the Rebels squinting to the Right, saw them running away, and they began to do the same, without firing a single Musket: 'Twas at the Twinkling of an Eye that the Fire of the small Arms began from Right to Left, which for two Minutes was like one continued Thunder equalling the Noise of the loudest Clap, as several Hills lay near and the *Murray* Firth was behind them: Lord *John Drummond* did all he could to stop the Flight; once made them wheel and face the
Royalists,

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Royalists, who now called out "Come down ye Dogs, and we will cut you in Pieces," which Language, with the Sight of the Gunners preparing the Cannon, obliged the Enemy to fly; at which the Soldiers huzza'd! and the Horse began to pursue; the Dragoons and *Campbells* on the Left, who had broke down a Dyke on the Right of the Rebels, met *Kingston's* Horse in the very Centre of the Ground where the Enemy had formed. Things being in this Confusion, Lord *John* brought the *Camerons* with *Fitz James's* Horse to secure the Retreat; they fired at the *Campbells* but at too great a Distance to do much hurt, tho' not wholly without Success, as they kill'd the lovely Capt. *Colin Campbell* younger of *Ballimore*; and as the *Campbells* stopt, they suddenly rais'd an Huzza; but while it was yet in their Mouths, the Dragoons were upon their Backs, and broke pell-mell in upon them, so that they fled with the utmost Speed cross the *Nairn*, whither it was unsafe for Horse to pursue them.

Such was the Fate of the right Wing, and of those who gave them Assistance, nor was the left who fired not a single Musket much better; for in their Flight to *Inverness*, and to the Country between the *Ness* and the *Nairn*, they were pursued by *Kingston's* light Horse, and mangled terribly, while the Soldiers

warm

warm in their Resentment stabbed some of the wounded Men, and a Party meeting others at *Culloden* House brought them forth and shot them; this Conduct was variously constructed, the Royalists gave out that an Order was found, "to give no Quarter to the Elector's Troops on any Account whatever;" the Disaffected utterly denied the Charge, and *Arthur Lord Balmerino*, was at Pains to disprove it on the Day of his Execution, saying that, "it was only an Invention to palliate their own murdering Scheme." But be that as it will, are not the Manifestoes of the Pretender the same with the Order supposed? for has he not said "From the Benefit of which Pardon, we except none but such as shall wilfully and maliciously oppose us; and we particularly promise as aforesaid, our full, free and general Pardon, to all Officers, Soldiers and Sailors, now engaged in the Service of the Usurper, whether of the Sea, or of the Land, provided, that upon the Publication hereof, and before they engage in any Fight or Battle against our Forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable Service, and return to their Duty." The Alternate of which is obvious. Secondly, The Troops were enraged at their Hardships and Fatigues during a Winter Campaign; the Habit of the Enemy was strange, their Lan-

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Language still stranger, and their Way of Fighting unusual ; the Fields of *Preston* and of *Falkirk* were fresh in their Memories : They had lost a *Gardner*, a *Whitney*, and a *Munro* ; twelve or fourteen Wounds, an Hand, and an Arm, nay, both Arms of one Body lop'd off, were Sightings too frequent, and here before them, is the lively Picture of such dismal Scenes ! the half of *Barrel's* Regiment lay dead and wounded in their Ranks, and would have suffered much more had they given Way. Captain Lord *Robert Ker* was covered with Wounds, his Head being cut from the Crown to the Collar Bone : Captain *Campbel* of *Achnaba*, and Captain *Grossett*, likewise lay murdered before them. And here I cannot pass over a Circumstance, that might palliate the most rigorous Conduct.

The Place of Action, called by the Country People (*Boig Vaan*) the *White Bog*, was a large Common, covered with short Heath, on which the Sheep of three Parishes fed during the Summer, and was furrounded by the Houses of the *McIntoshes*, which made some ludicrously say, “ the Clan *Cattan* was much obliged to the Soldiers, for “ by their Means, many of them died on a “ Spot nearer by one half, to the usual “ Place of their Burying, than if they had “ expired in the Arms of their Wives ;”
and

and further it is observable, that except one Village of four or five low Cottages, called *Bellavraat*, not a stone belonging to them was destroyed, nor did any but such as were in Arms suffer that Day, except three in the following Manner.

As *Kingston's* Horse were on the Pursuit, the Noise roused some People, who came to the Windows to see the Scene; among whom one *Noble*, at *Faillie*, who, as peeping out of a Door, received a Ball in the Temple, that was designed for one, who being at full Speed, was just at the Place where the Accident happened; much the same might be said of the other two; these being old Weavers, their Friends loudly complain'd, and Fame magnify'd "the Barbarities" beyond the Strength of Imagination itself.

In the mean Time, the Duke rode along the Lines, returned his hearty Thanks to the Soldiers, expressed a sympathizing Tenderness for the dead and wounded, and directly sent for some Rum, Brandy, Biscuit and Cheese, to refresh the Troops, from the *Gibraltar* Man of War. Each having taken his Quota, they advanced huzzaing, and throwing up not only their own Hats, but some Bonnets in the Air, while the Transports discharged a Round for the Victory; and tho' exulting in Jollity, yet when near *Inverness*, they appeared somewhat concerned.

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cerned at the Case of the miserable People, whose Carcasses lay strewed in the Way.

His Highness was received by the Dragoons as he entered; and being come to the Centre, he took off his Hat in a very princely Manner, and again returned his hearty Thanks for that Day's Service; so moving his Hand, for stopping the Bells, he called for the Keys of the Prison, set the Soldiers at Liberty, smoothed them on the Shoulder as they came down Stairs, saying, "Brother Soldiers, you are free," ordered an Entertainment for them, and Payment of all their Arrears: Thus Freedom was the first Fruit of his Conquest.

In this Battle were killed on the Side of the Royalists 120, besides the Officers already named, and 260 wounded, many so desperately, that they died afterward. Lieutenant-Colonel *Rich* had his right Hand cut off, and left almost cut through with a deep Wound near the Elbow. Captain *Romer*, Lieutenant *Edmonds*, Ensigns *Campbell* and *Brown*, all of *Barrell's* Regiment; Captain *Simpson* of *Prices*, Lieutenant *Trapaud* of *Blighs*; Captain *Kinneir*, Lieutenants *King* and *Lort*, Ensigns *Dallach* and *Mundach* of *Munros*; Captain *Sparks* of *Ligoniers*, with Captain *Carter* of *Batteraus*, were wounded also; the Dragoons did not suffer much, having only received some Shot from those
who

who turned about during the Pursuit. *Kingston's* Horse had but two killed and wounded; *Howard's*, *Cholmondley*, and *Batterau's* Foot, lost but two or three each, by random Shot, and *Pultney's* none at all; *Bligh's* sustained some small Loss, as did *Semple's* by firing of Pistols.

Of the Rebels were killed 1000 on the Spot, among whom *McGillivra* of *Drumna-glassb*, a Colonel of the *Clan Cattan*, with almost all their Officers and Major, one *Giles McBain*, who kill'd Lord *Robert Ker*. That Man, six Feet four Inches and a Quarter high, had several Stabs of a Bayonet, a large Cut in the Head, and his Thigh broke through. Colonel *Stuart* of *Kainachan*, with most of his Regiment, *Mercer* of *Aldie*, and his Son. Colonel *Menzies* and Captain *Dallas* of *Cantra* fell also, as did the Viscount of *Strathballan*, who by Advice, returned with his Squadron to the Charge, when his Horse fell under him, and a Dragoon cut him almost in two; the *McDonalds* of *Keppoch*, whose Chieftain died at his House of the Wounds he had received, suffered greatly, as did the *Camerons*, whose Colonel *Locheol* was wounded in both Ancles. Lord *George Murray* broke one Sword, lost another, had his Cloaths pierced in many Places, and lost his Wig into the Bargain.

This

This Fate of the right Wing, somewhat resembled that of the left; Col. *McLauchlan* and Major *McLauchlan* of *Inchconnel*, with most of their Officers fell, as did Col. *McLean* of *Drimnin*, with most of his Regiment. He was a Man of little Judgment, but of great Resolution, and Love to his Children; for seeing two of his Sons dangerously wounded, and hearing that another was killed, he said, "it shall not be for nought," so rushed upon two Dragoons, shot one and wounded the other, when three more came upon him, he continued his Obstinacy, and was almost cut in Pieces. Col. *Frazer*, with several of his Men and Officers were killed, as was Col. *Chisholm*, and 74 of the 100 under his Command. Brigadier *Stapleton* died of his Wounds a few Days after, Captain *Hunter* of *Burnside*, and many others were wounded also, as were 1000 private Men, and 900 taken Prisoners. Among whom was *Kilmarnock*, who mistaking a Party of Dragoons for *Fitz James's* Horse, came up to them, when Lord *Ancram* saved his Life, and delivered him to the Duke, who gave strict Orders that none should tell it to his Son Lord *Boyd*, then a loyal Captain; and when his Highness mentioned it, he acted in so princely a Manner, as to raise an universal Esteem. Sir *John Wedderburn*, Col. *Farquarson*, Major *James Stuart*, five Captains,

Capatins, three Ensigns, with six Surgeons and Engineers, were taken also, with all their Artillery, Tents, Baggage, Arms, Ammunition, and Military Stores. The Pretender galloped cross the *Nairn*, where he met with the shattered Remains of the right Wing; and being quite dejected, said, "Damn the Shipping, there's now no more to be done." He repaired to *Gortuleg's* House, where Lord *Lovat* was mourning the News of the Defeat, which had already reached his Ears. "Chop off my Head! chop off my Head!" says old *Simon* to the *Chevalier*, "We are surely undone." No, answer'd he, "My Lord, we have had two Days of them, and yet will have Day about with them." Next Morning, when his Lordship in *French* desired him to rally the Highlanders, and endeavour to decoy the Forces,—“Among the Hills;” he rode to *Glengary*, from thence to *Achnacarrie*, and not only on the Road was presented with the shocking Sight of the Wounded, but in every Place, heard of the Surrender of his Troops, who from the Duke's entring *Inverness*, were either brought him in Troops, or else submitted themselves.

Scarce was he two Hours in that Town, when six *French* Officers, who were not at the Battle, wrote a Letter to General *Bland*, surrendering themselves and their Soldiers

Prisoners

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Prisoners of War, as did next Day Lord *Lewis Drummond*, the Marquis of *St. Giles* the *French* Ambassador, and forty-nine other Officers: and in two Days after the *Hound* Sloop arrived with Lord *Cromarty*, and the other Prisoners; the *Grants* who formerly observed a Neutrality, now declared for the Government, and came down to *Inverness*, to the Number of 170, expecting that his Royal Highness would honour them with his Presence; but to their Mortification, tho' walking along the Side of the *Ness*, he neither went to view them himself, nor did any of the Officers. The People in the Rebellion, on submitting to Mercy, were dismissed to their own Habitations, only the *Grants* of *Glenmoristoun* were led into a Snare, thro' a Mistake of their Chieftain, who assured them of Pardon, if they would but come in: His Advice was follow'd; they entred *Inverness*, and drew up in the same Order as on the *Muir* of *Culloden*, armed *Cap-a-pee*, to the Number of 300; which his Royal Highness observing, he walked up, and asked what Body of Men were these? to which he was answered, "the *Grants* of *Glenmoristoun*." To whom have they surrendred, reply'd his Royal Highness. "To me, says Mr. *Grant*, and to none but me would they have submitted."

"No, answered *WILLIAM*, I'll let them

Q

"know

“ know that they are my Father’s Subjects,
 “ and must likewise submit to me.” So instantly ordered a Regiment to surround and disarm ’em : They were directly embarked on Board the Transports, and on the 22d, were ship’d off for *Tilbury* Fort, with a Clergyman of their Name. Three hundred and Ten of the *French* Prisoners were sent to *Newcastle*, while the Pretender’s Servants being only *French*, had Passports given them. A Court-Martial sat for the Trial of some Officers and Soldiers, among whom, Major *Grant* formerly named; the Gunner, and some others, swore so positively against him, that with Difficulty the Sentence was mitigated, to declare him incapable and unworthy of the King’s Service for the Future; some private Men were hanged, and others pardoned, as Circumstances appeared favourable.

Such was the Battle of *Culloden*, of which I never saw any Account from the Rebels, nor indeed could one be expected, considering the Rebellion was dashed in Pieces! The Flame of it was not only extinguished, but the very Embers of it quenched; yet as I have heard some Excuses for their Overthrow, I shall consider them, 1st, Their Men were not all there. 2^{dly}, They were fatigued the Night before; and 3^{dly}, Wanted Subsistence. The first will be allowed; for the *McPhersons*, and several

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several of *Glenbucket's* Men, in all 500, were not there. *Glengyle* with 120 *McGri-gors* was in *Sutherland*, as was Lord *Cromarty* with 280 of his Men. *Barisdale's* Regiment of 400 was likewise absent, the Lieutenant-Colonel of the *McIntoshes*, *Locheol's* Lieutenant-Colonel, and the Master of *Lo-vat* *, with some of their Attendants, were not in the Field, yea, 500 of the *French* Picquets were at, or near *Inverness*, in the Time of Action; all which put together, amount to 17 or 1800 Men: But then let us consider how these were supplied; about 100 of the *Chisholms* of *Strathglass*, 140 *McLeans*, 130 of the Name of *Dallas*, several Branches of the *Catti*, and others, tending to make up, while the Guards brought from *Perth*, and from the Coast of *Angus*, with some Forces that had landed from *Ostend*, more than compensated what was wanting. But must we forget that the Royal Army was less numerous at *Culloden* than at *Falkirk*? were there as many Dragoons at the former as at the latter Place? *Cobham's* were not recruited, and can it be said, that Lord *Mark Ker's* Dragoons with *Kingston's*

* He was dining in *Frazer* of *Relick's* House, when hearing the Report of the Fire, he got on Horseback, and soon was presented with the Sight of his *Frazers* flying in the greatest Confusion.

Horse, were equal in Number to the Regiments of *Hamilton* and *Gardner*, then almost compleat? Is the Loss at *Keith* nothing? Is the Surprize of the *Campbells* at *Blairfitty* and *Kainachan* not to be regarded? Are the Detachments left at *Blair*, *Castle Menzies*, and *Aberdeen*, not to be considered? Is there nothing in keeping Lord *Lou-don* with the Militia from joining the Royal Army? And if the Rebels Account of *Falkirk* Battle be true, which is, that they lost but 40, and the Royalists 1300, including Prisoners, then the Rebels must have been stronger, and the Army not so numerous as on that boisterous Day. As to their Fatigue the Night before, it was owing to themselves; and what General will let slip an Advantage? But were not the Forces in the same Condition! they had, in six Days, marched from *Aberdeen* to *Nairn*, sixty-eight Miles *, thro' very deep Roads. Further, they had waded, besides little Rivulets, the *Deveron*, the *Spey*, the *Lossie*, the *Findhorn* and the *Nairn*, and that Morning they had marched ten Miles, and were much incommoded by saving their Arms under their Cloaths, from the Hail, that showed down upon them. As to Subsistence, that was

* Two *Buchan* Miles are almost three *Englisb*.

certainly

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certainly a great Misfortune, and what Commander will not improve upon the Straits of his Enemies. But why so much detract from the Glory of a Conquest, obtained over the boldest Men! Men inured to Victory, and drawn up on Ground of their own chusing, and that with Troops spent by Fatigue and harassed with a Storm; then let the Obstinate look into the Ocean, while it is calm, and sooner may they be able to raise Tempests there, than to disturb the universal Joy that reigns in every *British* Breast, since the grand Decision. May the Temples of him be crown'd with Olive, and with every Laurel, who was the Soul of the Cause, and took the Affair upon himself; and may Millions unborn, be ready upon every Occasion, to express their Thankfulness, when they read of the glorious Event!

The End of the SEVENTH BOOK.



THE



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION,
MDCCXLV and MDCCXLVI.

BOOK VIII.

CONTENTS.

The Consequences of the Victory, the Trial of the Rebels at York and Carlisle, with that of Kilmarnock, Cromarty, Balmerino, and Lovat, with the Escape of the Chevalier to Morlaix in France.

THE 16th of *April* was the Beginning of a Jubilee, only interrupted by the Miseries of those who had forfeited their Lives to publick Justice. Fame like an Eagle bore the News of the Defeat upon her Wings. The Night of the Battle Lord
Bury

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Bury was dispatched with a Letter to *St. James's*; he took the Opportunity of a Ship to *North Berwick*, where he landed on *Monday* the 21st, took Horses to *London*, where he arrived upon the Morning of the 24th, and delivered his Message to the King, who having heard twelve Hours before his Arrival of the Action in general, asked, "What's become of my SON?" He is very well answered *Bury*, "Then all is well to me," reply'd the Royal Parent, and unable to speak for Joy, he withdrew for a little; and ordered *Bury* 1000 Guineas. The Joy upon publishing the News was as universal as the Illuminations the most splendid ever seen, were general and delightful, forming but one continued Blaze! from *London* to the utmost Bounds of the *British* Dominions, in *America*, but especially in the Towns where Trading Companies were settled, as at *Lisbon*, nothing was to be seen but Gladness for the great Deliverance: A Run of Addresses like the Waves of the Sea, justling out one another, crowded upon His Majesty, congratulating him both upon the Defeat of his Enemies, and the heroic Part, his Son, "the Image of his Virtues, had
" in the suppressing that Project, upon the
" Ruin of which the Constitution was more
" firmly secured." The Parliament, in Testimony of their Satisfaction, conferred

upon the Duke the yearly Sum of 25000*l.* in Augmentation of what he formerly enjoyed, and wrote a congratulatory Letter upon his glorious Success, to which they received an obliging Answer from his own Hand.

The City of *Edinburgh* was not behind in testifying her Joy, which was the more heightened, in Proportion to the Sadness that rung the Night before, on publishing the false Accounts of the Royalists being defeated, and their Leader taken Prisoner : For as at *Leipsick*, Anno 1631, upon the Saxons giving Way, a Courier carried the News to *Vienna*, of the Defeat of the Great *GUSTAVUS*, the Defender of the Protestant Interest in his Day, so at *Culloden*, when the Enemy broke in upon two Regiments on the Left, a Courier went off with an Account of the Overthrow of the Protector of the Reformation in Ours. Balls and Dances were held by the disaffected Ladies, whose Mirth was interrupted, about One in the Sunday Morning, by a Round from the great Guns of the Castle, answered by Discharges from the Men of War in the Road, on Receipt of quite contrary News. Next *Thursday* was observed with the utmost Gaiety, as a Day of rejoicing for the Victory obtained : The most ingenious Devices, capable of striking the nicest Taste, were contrived.

In

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In some Windows were painted *W. D. C.* Deliverer of *Great Britain*. In others *VICTORY* trampling Rebellion under Foot, and Justice plunging her naked Sword in its Bowels. Satisfaction appeared in the Populace, who set on Bonfires, brought forth Liquor, and celebrated the *Æra* of their Freedom. The Nobility and Persons of Distinction had elegant Entertainments prepared. On *Sunday* the 27th, the nonjurant Ministers, these Incendiaries of the Rebellion, locked their Meeting-Houses, except three who followed next *Sunday*.

The *Campbells* marched into *Lochaber*, *Moidart*, *Arisaig*, and the *Sutherland* Militia into *Strathglass*, the Dragoons were sent to guard the Coast, and the *Grants* into the Country of the *McIntoshes*, while *Strathspey* was the great Source of Provision and Subsistence to the Rebels, who repaired thither with *Roy Stuart*, where they were plentifully supplied.

The Houses of *Keppoch*, *Glengary*, *Cluny* and *Lovat*, were reduced to Ashes, but *Achnacarrie*, the Residence of *Locheol*, was burnt by the *Camerons* themselves, and he was the first to kindle the Fire with his own Hand: Numbers of the Stragglers were daily seized or surrendered, as indeed their Chiefs continued to do. Sir *James Kinloch* and his Brother, was seized by the *Hessians*, as was Mr.

Ker of *Graiden*, a Colonel in the *Spanish* Service, with several others; the Marquis of *Tullebardin*, and *Mechel* the Pretender's Valet, gave themselves up to Mr. *Buchanan* of *Drumachail*, and were committed to *Dumbarton* Castle, till an Opportunity offered of transporting them to *London*, where the marquis was confined to the Tower, and soon died of a Flux, leaving as *Stapleton* had before, his Advice to the Pretender, not to make any further Attempts. *Balmerino* without any Ceremony, gave himself up to the Laird of *Grant*, who conducted him to *Inverness*, where he continued, till with *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, he was sent by Sea to *London*, and confined to the Tower.

Things being in this Situation, the Duke on the 28th set out for Fort *Augustus*, where he staid a short Time, then for Fort *William*, where the whole Garrison had the Honour of kissing his Hand for their gallant Defence of the Place. He frequently sent out Parties to search for the Pretender, who by Means of Lakes and Morasses, always escaped; and went in an open Boat from *Arisaig* to *Canna*, where he waited sometime, keeping a good Look-out for Fear of being surprized. It was his Misfortune to be absent, when Opportunities presented to get off; for on the 4th of *May*, two *French* Men of War arrived off the Coast of *Arisaig*,
and

and went up to *Lochnuay*, not knowing his Disaster: About 40,000 Louis d'Ores were landed for the Use of his Troops. On this a Meeting was held among the Chieftains, at which Lord *Levat* was present; the Money was distributed, that with it each might levy his *Clan*, which perhaps had been effected, had not the prudent Measures of his Royal Highness, with the following Sea-fight, disconcerted all their Projects.

These two Men of War being observed by a small Ship, who sailed to the *Baltimore* and *Greyhound* with the News, were attacked by these and the *Terror* next Morning. On the Approach of the King's Ships the *French* fired a Gun, to which no Answer was made; then hoisting *French* Colours one of them fired a Broadside: By this Time the *Greyhound* was between the two, who plied her close, and were closely plied in their Turn; and without doubt she must have fallen a Sacrifice, had not the other two so much racked the *French* Vessel afore and ast, as obliged them to send their Long Boats a Shore for Parties of *Higblanders* then lying near them: the King's Ships on this sheered off, after giving one Volley from their small Arms, by a Shot from which *Perth* received a Wound, and in his Passage died of it: though their Masts and Rigging were much shattered, yet they went in Quest of the *Fur-*

nace.

nace to renew the Attack, but before their Return, the two *French Ships* had sailed away with the Loss of 59 Men, disgusted at the *Highlanders*, who did not inform them how Matters stood till the Money and Effects were landed, and till the Sea Engagement was past: however, beside *Pertb* and his Brother, they carried off some Officers to confirm the Pretender's Disaster.

In the mean Time, the Parliament were examining into the Rise and Spring of the late Troubles, and on the 8th of *June*, attainted of High Treason, *Pertb*, the Earl of *Kellie*, *Strathballan*, and his Son, Lords *Elcho*, *Pitfargo*, *Nairn*, *Ogilvie*, Lords *George Murray*, *John Drummond*, and *Lewis Gordon*, the Master of *Lovat*; *Graham*, Viscount of *Dundee*, *Mercer of Aldie*, Sir *William Gordon of Park*, Secretary *Murray*, *Glenbucket*, *Locheol, jun.* and his Brother; *Camerons of Torcastle*, and *Dungallan*, *Clanranald, jun.* *Keppoch*, *Barrisdale*, *Glencoe*, *Clunie*, *McLauchlan*, *McKinnon*, *Ardshile*, and the other Officers of their Family, *Gask*, senior and junior, young *Carnwath*, and *Airth*, *Roy Steuart*, *Farquharson of Monaltry*, *Drumnaglasb*, with some few others known only by their Names; appointing them to be prosecuted, unless before the 12th of *July* they should surrender themselves: None of these suffered, they having either escaped or complied: Among the lat-

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ter was Secretary *Murray*, who, thinking to make a Merit of giving Evidence against *Lovat* then in the Hands of the Government, he proffered his Service to the Justice Clerk; the Proposal was accepted, and Mr. *Murray* was apprehended by a Party of Dragoons, who, on the 28th of *June*, conducted him to *Edinburgh*, whence he was carried to *London*, where he delivered up several Letters which the Ministry thought would be of Use in the Trial of that Lord, who bitterly inveighed against him in Court, and call'd him by the most opprobrious Names.

Upon the 20th of *July*, the Judges sat at *St. Margaret's Hill*, where Col. *Townley*, and some Officers of the *Manchester* Regiment appeared before them; and as the Defence of being in the *French* Service was over-ruled, they were condemned to die, and on the 31st were hanged, drawn and quartered at *Kennington Common*.

Sept. 1st, the Assizes at *Carlisle* began, when three Lawyers went from *Edinburgh* to plead the Cause of the Prisoners, but their Defence, which was, "that Accomplices could not be admitted Witnesses in the Case of Treason," being over-ruled, the Trials were far from being tedious or long, and the Return *GUILTY!* was frequently made in a Moment! Which raised great Indulgence in the Court, whereof I shall here give an Instance.

Major

Major *McDonald* who was taken at *Falkirk*, pled that " he was forced out, and continued " under that Force," and ' tho' this Defence was of all others the most improbable, yet, they sat six Hours upon it, when the Jury in an Instant brought him in Guilty? Here of 105 thirty suffered, 70 were pardoned, and the rest acquitted. Hence they went to *York*, where the Jury acted with great Candour, but here as at *Carlisle* the Evidence was irresistible. There among other Trials came on that of two *Frenchmen*, whose Defence was, that ' in the Nature of Things, they ' could not be constructed Traitors to King *George* as they were Foreigners, and had ' never sworn Allegiance to him:' the Plea of the one was sustained, as he had come over with the Pretender's Party in the Heat of the Rebellion, but that of the other was repelled as a Distinction was made, ' that ' tho' he ow'd the King of *Great Britain* no ' natural, yet a local Allegiance was due, ' having come over under the Protection of ' the *Dutch* General, who landed with Auxiliaries in Support of his Majesty.' On this he was condemned, but while in his Way to the Gibbet a Pardon was brought him: here of 74, five were acquitted, and twenty suffered; and besides those executed with *Townley*, other fourteen suffered at *Kennington Common*: In short, only 74 by Course of

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of Common Law were put to Death, for rebelling against a King who had reigned eighteen Years according to LAW; whereas 600 were put to Death *Anno 1685*, for rising in Arms against King *James II.* or *VII.* who in five Months Time, had broke through the very Fundamentals of the Constitution.

But a greater Trial than these, was that of the Earls of *Kilmarnock*, and *Cromarty*, with Lord *Balmerino*, before the House of Lords; an Indictment being found against them by the *Surrey* Jury; the two Earls pleaded Guilty; but his Lordship denied the Charge; on which a Proof was brought; and tho' the Witnesses were the most infamous Wretches, yet they swore only to a Fact that was notorious. On this they were condemned to die, but before Sentence was pronounced, *Cromarty* first appealed to the Lord President in *Scotland*, and to General *Cope*, for his loyal Behaviour at the Breaking out of the Rebellion, then proceeded in a pathetic Speech, but in a very forbidding Manner, partly thro' Fear, and partly for want of a proper Accent, the necessary Effect of being bred in *Rossshire*, which more than Flows of Eloquence, or the softest Streams of Persuasion, raised Compassion in his Peers, and made their Bowels earn upon him, 'I have,' said he, 'involved
' an innocent Wife, (no Party to my Guilt,)
' and

‘ and with her an unborn Infant to share its
 ‘ Penalty; I have involved my eldest Son,
 ‘ whose Infancy and Regard to his Parent,
 ‘ hurried him down the Stream of Rebel-
 ‘ lion: I have involved also eight innocent
 ‘ Children, who must feel their Parent’s
 ‘ Punishment before they know his Guilt.
 ‘ Let them, my Lords, be Pledges to his
 ‘ Majesty; let them be Pledges to your
 ‘ Lordships; let them be Pledges to my
 ‘ Country for Mercy; let the silent Elo-
 ‘ quence of their Grief and Tears, let the
 ‘ powerful Language of innocent Nature,
 ‘ supply my Want of Eloquence and Per-
 ‘ swasion; let me enjoy Mercy no longer
 ‘ than I deserve it; and let me enjoy Life
 ‘ no longer, than I shall endeavour to efface
 ‘ the Crimes I have been guilty of: While
 ‘ I thus interceed for your Lordships Re-
 ‘ commendation to his Majesty for Mercy;
 ‘ let my Remorse for my Guilt as a Subject,
 ‘ let the Sorrows of my Heart as a Husband,
 ‘ let the Anguish of my Mind as a Father,
 ‘ speak the rest of my Misery! Your Lord-
 ‘ ships are Men, you feel as Men; but may
 ‘ none of you ever suffer the smallest Part of
 ‘ what I suffer!

‘ But, after all, if my Safety should be
 ‘ found inconsistent with that of the Pub-
 ‘ lick, and nothing but my Blood thought
 ‘ necessary to atone for my unhappy
 ‘ Crimes;

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‘ Crimes; if the Sacrifice of my Life, my
‘ Fortune, and Family, are judged indis-
‘ pensible for stopping the loud Demands
‘ of publick Justice; if, notwithstanding all
‘ the Allegations that can be urged in my
‘ Favour, the bitter Cup is not to pass from
‘ me; not mine, but thy Will, O God, be
‘ done!’

This Speech so moving in itself, quickly raised the Sympathy of those, who susceptible of the first Impression, yielded to the Weakness of Pity, and soon interested themselves for his Lordship.

Kilmarnock's Arguments were still more prevailing, and moved the judicious and wise, more than the Fineness of his Address, and Propriety of his Accent, he being Master of the *English* Tongue in all its *A's* and *Iota's*; for he urged the Loyalty of his Ancestors, their Behaviour at the Revolution, and since; appealed to the Conduct of his Father in the Rebellion 1715, at which Time he himself bore Arms for the Government, and the Deportment of his Son who had his Majesty's Commission, and on *Culloden* Field behaved as became; he told them that he was far from being considerable among the Rebels, and that he had no Share in any of their Barbarities, and concluded with recommending himself to the Mercy of their Lordships; this being over, the Lord
Chan-

Chancellor, then Lord High Steward, made a Speech, in which, after pointing out the Heinousness of the Crime of Rebellion; especially against a King famous through the World for his mild and easy Government, he told them among other Things, that the Death of every Person who fell during the Time of the Troubles, was a Murder! that the many Murders of the innocent Soldiers, were rather chargable upon the Chiefs the Principal, than upon their Inferiors and Followers, tho' the instrumental Cause; yea, and that the Deaths of the Criminals whom Justice had overtaken, were only to be ascribed to those who had involved them in the desperate Scheme.

As it was foreseen that Intercession would be made, the Privy Council determined, that two of the three should die, since the Cries for Justice were loud and piercing: the Interest for the Earls was great, while that for *Balmerino* was nothing at all, which the King observing, he said, 'Many apply for *Kilmarnock* and *Cromarty*, but none for *Balmerino*, I believe him to be the honestest Man of the whole, and must do something for him myself,' which he certainly would have done had he been left to his own Disposition, and had he not laid it down as a Maxim, 'never to thwart his Privy Council.'

The

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The general Opinion without Doors was, that since Lord *Boyd*, *Kilmarnock's* eldest Son had behaved so well, his Father had been spared, as was *Metellus* the Roman Senator taken at the Battle of *Actium*, provided, his Lordship had imitated *Metellus's* Son, who knowing his aged Parent at *Samos* among the Prisoners ran to embrace him, and turning toward *Cæsar*, said, "This is your Enemy, but he is likewise my Father, I ask his Pardon of you as a Recompence of my Services, or if you do not judge me worthy, I offer myself to Death for him," *Cæsar* replied, "that he remitted for the Son's Services, the just Resentment he might have against the Father."

But tho' Lord *Boyd* did nothing like *Metellus's* Son, yet through the Intercession of Lady *Charlotte Hamilton*, Sister to the late Duke of that Name, the Fate of the two Earls continued in *Æquilibrio* for a Time, till by the unparalleled Diligence of the Countess of *Cromarty*, the Scale was turned in favour of her Lord.

Her Ladyship being then with Child went almost to the whole Nobility and Gentry about Court, and at last to the Princess of *Wales*; getting ready Access she fell upon her Knees begging that "her Highness would have Mercy on her, and her five Children, pointing to them, and interceed
— for

“ for her unfortunate Lord,” “ wait there
 “ reply’d her Highness, and I shall soon
 “ bring you an Answer;” so withdrawing a
 few Moments, she returned with her five
 Children, the eldest of whom the Princess
Augusta was but eight Years of Age, and
 setting them before her, said, “ Pray Madam
 “ what Compassion had your Lord upon my
 “ five Children and me, ’tis true, I am not
 “ now in your Case, but then I was, and
 “ God knows what would have become of
 “ me or of them, had your Husband’s
 “ Scheme taken place; however, I shall in-
 “ terceed with his Majesty for him.” That
 very Night she went to the King, told him
 the Story, and endeavoured to prevail in his
 Favour.

But tho’ the Royal Intercessor was the
 most powerful to apply to the King, who
 had always expressed the highest Respect for,
 and Tenderness of her; yet its thought the
 same would have been ineffectual, as it only
 proceeded from a Disposition to Forgiveness,
 and a Regard to a Promise made in the
 midst of a sudden Transport, had not Lady
Cromarty proceeded yet a little further, and
 gone to the Seat of Mercy itself. For this
 Purpose she applied to the Countess of *Stair*,
 who to keep her in Countenance, from her
 usual Goodness, went with her Ladyship to
Kensington, and at the Time of his Majesty’s
 going

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going to Chapel presented a Petition to him; he just took it out of her Hand when she fell backward and fainted away; which the King only observing with the last Glance of his Eye, he ordered her to be taken Care of, and in his usual serene Manner, said, "I shall take her Case into Consideration," which he accordingly did, and next Morning signed a Reprieve for 99 Years: His Son was pardoned also. But the other Lords suffered according to their Sentence, on the 18th of *August*. At going out of the Tower Gate and hearing the Ordinary say, *God save King George, Kilmarnock* bowed very reverently; whereas *Balmerino* taking off his Hat, cry'd, *God save King J—s, and all his Royal F——y*: From the Time the Earl quitted the Gate, he attracted the Eyes of all the Spectators, being about 6 Foot high clothed in Black with a Bag appended to his Hair, and walking in the most decent and serious Manner.

His mild and amiable Countenance drew Sighs from every Heart, and Tears from every Eye; I have heard Officers and Soldiers declare, that they were not so affected with the Sight of thousands lying on the Fields about *Fontenoy*, as with the Earl of *Kilmarnock*; the Executioner himself though 15 Years in Practice, during which Time he had more Employment than any two of his

his Trade in *Europe*, and tho' he had on him Part of the Cloaths which *Townley* suffered in, yet burst out into Tears, and fainted away till recovered by artificial Spirits, when his Lordship spoke to him, and gave him five Guineas; after which he submitted to his Fate, and the Executioner doing his Business well, Justice was satisfied, and an End put to the Life of him, who at that Time was a beautiful Sight to God, to Angels, and to Men, on Account of his Repentance.

Next came *Balmerino*, who hitherto was so obscure, that on mounting the Scaffold, the Populace were at a Loss to know the Criminal till he began to prepare for the Block: his Deportment was so bold, that it startled the Executioner himself, to whom he gave three Guineas; for on taking the Ax out of his Hand and thumbing it, the Fellow became terrified, and did his Business but poorly, not finishing it with less than three Blows.

The next remarkable Sufferer was Mr. *Charles Ratcliff*, who, by a Warrant from the King's Bench was beheaded on little Tower Hill, for a Treason committed above 30 Years before; he submitted with Composure to his rigid Fate, and died a Roman Catholick.

But the greatest Trial of all was that of *Simon Lord Frazer of Lovat*, who had been
taken

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taken, wrapped about with Blankets, in the Trunk of a Tree, growing in the middle of a Lake. From hence he was brought to *London*, where the Commons having exhibited a Charge of High Treason against him, he was arraigned and tried by his Peers. About 20 Letters to and from the Pretender, *Locheol*, Secretary *Murray*, and his Son, were produced in Evidence against him; which clearly proved his having been "The Life and Soul of the Pretender's Cause for 40 Years successively," and being the chief Instrument of raising that Rebellion, for which he was condemned.

April 9, 1747, he was led to the Block, and having declared himself a Member of the Church of *Rome*, and given the Executioner some Money, his Head was severed from his Body. In *July* following, an Act of Indemnity passed, out of which, but a few were excepted.

The Pretender suffered great Hardships during all this time, and afterwards; being obliged to hide himself in Caves, and among Heaths; to disguise himself in Women's Apparel; to lie all Night on the Sides of Mountains, and all Day in an open Boat at Sea; yet, notwithstanding the Vigilance of General *Campbell*, who, by all Means possible, endeavoured to seize his Person, he embarked on the 15th of *September* for *Bologne*, in a Ship sent off from thence by Mr. *Butler*, an Irish
* Merchant,

Merchant. In his Passage the Vessel was chased into *Morlaix*, where the young Adventurer had Time to reflect upon his rash Enterprize, and to look back with Horror, on those dark Scenes of Misery, which he had occasioned; being himself now reduced to the State of a Vagabond, and having brought his Followers to Scaffolds and Gibbets.

June 5. All the Pretenders Standards taken at *Culloden*, and elsewhere, were brought to *Edinburgh*, in Number 15, and after a Herald had proclaimed, to whom each of them belonged, they were, in Order of Priority, committed to the Flames by the Hands of the common Hangman.

We would here put a Period to this History, did not the Fate of the unfortunate Dr. *Archibald Cameron* demand our Attention, without taking some Notice of whom, the Work might justly be deemed imperfect. This unhappy Gentleman, whom we humbly presume to hope, will be the last Sacrifice which will be made on the Occasion, to a merciful, but injur'd Monarch, was doubtless as deeply in the Plot as any of his Companions; and yet, we know not by what strange Infatuation, or for what Reason, he was so generally pitied and lamented, by People of all Parties, which is rarely the Case with King-Makers. His Principles, and mistaken Loyalty, are best known

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known from his own Words, which he left with his Wife a little before his Execution.

*On the first Slip of Paper, dated Tower,
June 6, 1753.*

“ B E I N G denied the Use of Pen, Ink,
“ and Paper (except in the Presence
“ of one or more Officers, who always
“ took away the Paper from me when I be-
“ gan to write my Complaints) and not even
“ allowed the Use of a Knife with which I
“ might cut a poor blunted Pencil, that had
“ escaped the Diligence of my Searchers; I
“ have, notwithstanding, as I could find
“ Opportunity, attempted to set down, on
“ some Slips of Paper, in as legible Char-
“ racters as I was able, what I would have
“ my Country satisfied of, with Regard to
“ myself, and the Cause in which I am now
“ going to lay down my Life.

“ As to my Religion, I thank God, I die
“ a stedfast Member, tho’ unworthy, of that
“ Church in whose Communion I have al-
“ ways lived, *the Episcopal Church of Scot-*
“ *land*, as by Law established before the *most*
“ *un—l R——n* begun in 1688, which, for
“ the Sins of these Nations, hath continued
“ to this Day; and I firmly trust to find,
“ at the most awful and impartial Tribunal
“ of the Almighty King of Kings, through
“ the Merits of my blessed Lord and Saviour
“ Jesus

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“ Jesus Christ, that *Mercy*, though unde-
 “ served, to my immortal Part, which is
 “ denied to my earthly, by an *U*——r
 “ and his *F*——n, though it be well known
 “ I have been the Instrument of preventing
 “ the Ruin and Destruction of many of my
 “ poor deluded Countrymen who were in
 “ the Service, as I shall make appear, be-
 “ fore I have done, if Opportunities of writ-
 “ ting fail me not.”

On the Second Slip of Paper.

“ In order to convince the World of the
 “ Uprightness of my Intentions, while in
 “ the *P*—— of *W*—— Army, as well
 “ as of the *Cru*——ty, *Inj*——e, and *Ing*——e
 “ of my *Murd*——s, I think it my Duty,
 “ in this Place, to take Notice how much
 “ better Usage I might have expected of my
 “ Country, if Humanity and Good-nature
 “ were now look’d upon with the same Eyes
 “ as in the Times of our brave and generous
 “ Ancestors: But I’m sorry to observe, that
 “ our present *M*——n in *P*——r are so far
 “ sunk below the noble Spirit of the antient
 “ *Britons*, as hardly at this Day to be distin-
 “ guish’d from the very basest of *M*——d.
 “ Nor could the present *P*—— of the
 “ *T*——e of our *inj*——d *S*——, if
 “ he looked upon himself as the *F*——r
 “ and *n*——l *P*—— of this *C*——y, suffer
 “ the

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“ the Life of one to be taken away, who had
“ saved the Lives and Effects of above three
“ hundred Persons in *Scotland*, who were
“ firmly attached to him and his Party ; but
“ it seems it is now a Crime to save the Lives
“ of *Scotsmen*.

“ As neither the Time, nor the poor Ma-
“ terials I have for writing, will allow me to
“ descend to a particular Enumeration of all
“ the Services I have done to the Friends of
“ the U——; I shall therefore only men-
“ tion a few of the most known, and such
“ as can be well attested.

“ In *July 1745*, soon after the setting up
“ of the R——l S——d——d, before our
“ small Army had reached *Coryarick*, it was
“ moved by some of the Chiefs to apply to
“ the P—— for a strong Detachment
“ of Clans to distress *Campbell of Invera's*
“ House and Tenants in that Neighbour-
“ hood, which my Brother *Lockiel* and I so
“ successfully opposed, by representing to our
“ gen——s L——r (who was always an
“ Enemy to Oppression) that such Proceed-
“ ings could be no ways useful to his Un-
“ dertaking, that the Motion was intirely
“ laid aside, to the no small Mortification of
“ the Proposers.

“ My Brother and I likewise prevented
“ such another Design against *Braidalbin*, to
“ the great Satisfaction of our dear P——:

“ And

“ And on our Return from *England to Glas-*
 “ *gow* * *Archibald Cameron.*

On a third Slip of Paper.

“ my Brother and I did Services to the
 “ Town of *Glasgow*, of which the principal
 “ Gentry in the Neighbourhood were then,
 “ and are to this Day, sensible, if they durst
 “ own the Truth; but that might be con-
 “ strued Disaffection to a G——nt, founded
 “ on, and supported by L—s and F——d.
 “ On our March to *Stirling*, I myself
 “ (though I am like to meet with a H——n
 “ Reward for it) hindered the whole Town of
 “ *Kirkintullock* from being destroyed, and all
 “ its Inhabitants put to the Sword by my
 “ Brother’s Men, who were justly incensed
 “ against it for the inhuman Murder of two
 “ of Lady *Lochiel*’s Servants but two Months
 “ before. Here was a sufficient Pretence for
 “ *Vengeance*, had I been inclin’d to *Cruelty*!
 “ But, I thank God, nothing was ever far-
 “ ther from my Nature, though I may have
 “ been otherwise misrepresented.
 “ Mr. *Campbell* of *Shawfield* likewise owes
 “ me some Favours done to himself, and Fa-

* Mr. *Cameron*’s Custom was, when interrupted, to
 subscribe his Name, in order, as he told his Wife, to
 authenticate what he had written, lest he should not
 have an Opportunity of adding any thing further.

“ mily,

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“ mily, which at least deserve some Return
“ in my Behalf; and Lady *Campbell* of *Loch-*
“ *nell*, now in *London*, can, if she pleases,
“ vouch for the Truth of some of the above
“ Facts.

Archibald Cameron, June 6, 1753.

On a Fourth Slip of Paper.

“ I thank kind Providence I had the
“ Happiness to be early educated in the
“ Principles of *Christian Loyalty*, which, as
“ I grew in Years, inspired me with an utter
“ Abhorrence of R——n and U—p—n;
“ though ever so successful; and when I arrived
“ at Man’s Estate, I had the joint
“ Testimony of Religion and Reason to confirm
“ me in the Truth of my first Principles: Thus
“ my Attachment to the R——l
“ F——y is more the Result of *Examination*
“ and *Conviction*, than of *Prepossession* and
“ *Prejudice*. And as I now am, so was I
“ then, ready to seal my *Loyalty* with my
“ Blood: As soon, therefore, as the R——
“ X— had set up the —— *his Father’s Standard*,
“ I immediately, as in Duty bound,
“ repaired to it; and as I had the Honour,
“ from Time to Time, to be almost constantly
“ about his Person till *November*
“ 1748 (excepting the short Time his R——l
“ H——s was in the *Western Isles* after the
“ Affair

“ Affair of *Culloden*) I became more and
 “ more captivated with his amiable and p—y
 “ Virtues, which are, indeed, in every In-
 “ stance, so eminently great, as I want
 “ Words to describe.

“ I can farther affirm (and my present Si-
 “ tuation, and that of my dear P—— too,
 “ can leave no Room to suspect me of Flat-
 “ tery) that as I have been his Companion
 “ in the lowest Degree of Adversity that ever
 “ P—— was reduced to; so I have beheld
 “ him too, as it were, upon the highest Pi-
 “ nacle of Glory, amidst the continual Ap-
 “ plauses, and, I had almost said, Adorati-
 “ ons of the most brilliant Court in *Eu-
 “ rope*; yet he was always the same, ever
 “ affable and courteous, giving constant
 “ Proofs of his Humanity and his Love for
 “ his Friend and his Country. What great
 “ Good to these Nations might not be ex-
 “ pected from such a P——, were he to be
 “ in Possession of the T—— of his A——!
 “ And, as to Courage, none that ever heard
 “ of his *glorious Attempt* in 1745, I should
 “ think, can call it in Question.

“ I cannot pass by in Silence that most
 “ horrible Calumny raised by the R ——
 “ under the Command of the i——n
 “ S—— of the ——r, which served as
 “ an Excuse for the *unparalleled B——y*
 “ committed by his Orders, in cold Blood,
 “ after

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“ after the *u——y* *Affair* of *Culloden*, viz.
“ That we had Orders to give no *Quarters*,
“ &c. which, if true, must have come to
“ my Knowledge, who had the Honour to
“ serve my ever d—r M—t—r in Quality of
“ one of his *Aides de Camp*; and I hereby
“ declare, I never heard of such Orders. The
“ above is Truth.

Archibald Cameron.

“ I likewise declare, on the Words of a dy-
“ ing Man, That the last Time I had the
“ Honour to see his R—— H—— C——
“ P—— of W——, he told me, from his
“ own Mouth, and bid me assure his Friends
“ from him, That he was a Member of the
“ Church of England.

Arch. Cameron.

On a Fifth Slip of Paper.

“ To cover the Cruelty of murdering me
“ at this Distance of Time, from the passing
“ of the *un——st* *Attainder*, I am accused of
“ being deeply concerned in a *new Plot*
“ against this Government; which, if I was,
“ neither the Fear of the worst Death their
“ M——e could invent, nor much less the
“ *blustering and noisy Threatenings* of the
“ *t——ul——s* *Council*, nor even their flat-
“ tering Promises, could extort any Disco-
“ very

“ very of it from me ; yet not so much as
 “ one Evidence was ever produced to make
 “ good the Charge : But it is my Business
 “ to submit, since God, in his Allwise
 “ Providence, thinks fit to suffer it to be so ;
 “ and I the more chearfully resign my Life,
 “ as it is taken away for doing my Duty to
 “ God, my ——— and Country : Nor is
 “ there any Thing in this World I could
 “ so much wish to have it prolonged for, as
 “ to have another Opportunity of employing
 “ the Remainder of it in the same *glorious*
 “ *Cause*.

Archibald C-----.

“ I thank God I was not in the least
 “ daunted at hearing the b——y Sentence
 “ which my *un——st* *f*—— pronounced
 “ with a seeming *Insensibility*, till he came
 “ to the Words, *But not till you are dead* ;
 “ before which he made a Pause, and utter-
 “ ing them with a particular Emphasis,
 “ stared me in the Face, to observe, I sup-
 “ pose, if I was as much frightned at them
 “ as he perhaps would have been had he been
 “ in my Place. As to the Guilt, he said, I
 “ had to answer for, as having been instru-
 “ mental in the Loss of *so many Lives*. Let
 “ him, and his Constituents, see to that ; at
 “ their Hands, not at mine, will all the
 “ Blood that has been shed on that Account,
 “ be required.

“ God

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“ God, of his infinite Mercy, grant
“ they may prevent the Punishment that
“ hangs over their Heads, by a sincere Re-
“ pentance, and speedy Return to their Duty.
“ And I pray God to hasten the R——n
“ of the R—— F—— (without which these
“ miserably divided Nations can never en-
“ joy Peace and Happiness) and that it may
“ please him to preserve and defend the
“ ———, the P—— of W——, and the D——
“ of Y——, from the Power and Malice of
“ their Enemies; to prosper and reward all
“ my Friends and Benefactors, and to for-
“ give all my Enemies, M—d—s and false
“ Accusers, from the E——— of H———
“ and his b——y S——, down to Samuel
“ Cameron, the basest of their Spies, as I
“ freely do from the Bottom of my Heart.

(Sic subscript) Archibald Cameron.

*I am now ready to be offered, I have fought
a good Fight, All Glory be to God.*

The above is a faithful Transcript of what
my late dear Husband left with me as his
dying Sentiments.

Signed *Jean Cameron.*

We shall conclude this History with the following Remark on these Papers.

The Prejudices of Education, we must confess, are strong and lasting; but yet it shews Weakness in the Author thus to endeavour to balance the two Mischiefs of *doing* and *suffering* Ill; since it is certain, the *latter* is to be resolved into, and has no Existence of itself, but what it derives from the *former*. Punishment is the Result of Guilt; and therefore whatever Malignity is in the Effect, becomes intirely chargeable upon the Cause. We are to look upon our Crimes and Inadvertencies not only as our *greatest*, but our *only* Misfortunes.

F I N I S.

